

DON'T CRY OVER SPILT MILK:
APPRENTICING WITH THE LAST
MAKERS OF THE
MILKMAN'S DRESS

L GHAI

MA 2014

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MILKMAN'S DRESS

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements of the
Manchester Metropolitan University for
the degree of Master of Arts
(By Research)

Manchester Institute for Research and
Innovation in
Art and Design (MIRIAD)
2014

Abstract

The *kediyun* is an upper garment worn by men in pastoral communities in Kutch, West India. The garment is always white, attracting one's attention with its dramatic and elaborate cut. Traditionally, local women make them for the men in their family, more recently however, tailors have started making them.

The research investigates the technique of constructing the *kediyun*. During the research I initiated three apprenticeships as a method of gaining a comprehensive understanding of the making of the *kediyun*. This allowed me to hand-make the *kediyun* and to immerse myself in the domestic environment of traditional makers. Traditional methods of measuring the body for garment construction, which had not been previously detailed, were studied during the apprenticeships. This led me to understand that each *kediyun* is specific to the maker's body.

The practice-led study of the *kediyun*, documented in the thesis in the form of still photographs and film, illuminates how the construction of a traditional Indian garment is an extension of the maker's culture. This notion had largely been ignored in previous publications of stitched Indian garments. During the research, cultural aspects such as folk songs and religious and spiritual beliefs were recognised as informing the making process of the *kediyun*. Within the context of social groups, individual variations in *kediyun* construction are analysed. This highlights the creativity of the makers as individuals and the richness of the craft.

Acknowledgement

This research is a result of guidance, advice and encouragement of several well-wishers. I want to express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor Alison Welsh, Amanda Ravetz and Nigel Hurlstone for their consistent guidance that has enabled me to complete the thesis.

I thank Judy Frater, founder of Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya (KRV) for encouraging me to understand and appreciate the rich craft culture of Kutch. While teaching at KRV, I was pleasantly surprised by the creativity and skills of the craftswomen that motivated me to apply for the research. I dedicate this thesis to Judy Frater and the four makers from whom I learnt the making of the *kediyun*: Jamnaben, Bhaddiben, Puriben and Jivaben.

The research would not have been possible without the fellowship awarded to me by Manchester Institute for Research and Innovation in Art and Design (MIRIAD). I thank MIRIAD Director John Hyatt and research degree coordinator Jim Aulich for their support.

I thank Shamji Vishramji Vankar and Diyalalbhai Vankar for their kind support while I was in Kutch. They introduced me to the local communities and travelled with me. I also extend thanks to Lakhabhai Rabari (from KRV) for helping me with the translations of the folk songs and Jumo Patel for allowing me to travel with his camels. I thank Harkuben Rabari for suggesting the name of this thesis. She was unhappy to have demolished the traditional family *Bhunga* and build a concrete house to live in. Although the new house was not as suitable for the desert heat, Harkuben said there was now no point in crying over spilt milk.

I am grateful Anne Morrell for showing an interest in my research and for guiding my translation of the stitching technique into text. Moreover, I appreciate greatly that the Gallery of Costume, Manchester, for giving me a platform to showcase my research. I thank Patrick Baxter for helping me editing and Joe Henry Wilson for post-sound production for the film I made.

Writing the thesis has been a challenge for me. English is my second language and I consider myself a visual rather than a textual person. I have benefited immensely from the research support provided by Barbara Rawlings and the writing support of Helen Bowman and Tilo Reifenstein. I would like to thank Amanda Ravetz for setting up the writing group that I was part of and all my colleagues who made writing such an enjoyable process.

I thank Manchester Metropolitan University staff Phillip Sykas, Jane Webb, Alice Kettle and Myna Trustram for their valuable advice. I thank my friends Barney Hare Duke, Cathy Greenhalgh, Sarah Lawton and Shweta Dhariwal for encouraging me at various stages of my research.

Finally, I thank my brother Vinayak and my parents for their emotional support while I travelled between India and UK.

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Introduction to the research

The Rabaris (fem. Rabaran) are the last nomadic people of India. Rabari men traditionally wear a full sleeve upper garment, called *kediyun*, which has been an important marker of identity (Frater, 1995). According to Lakhabhai Rabari (Ghai, 2013), the word *kediyun* in Gujarati means 'that which reaches up to the waist'. The *kediyun* is made by local women or specialist tailors. As these people have begun settling in urban areas of India, they often take up jobs as milkmen (Shah and Banga, 1992). The urban residents have therefore derogatively dubbed the garment a 'milkman's dress.' Over the last five years, there has been a drastic change in the lifestyle of these people and most visibly in their clothing. With changing lifestyles, a number of Rabari men have altogether stopped wearing the *kediyun* (Edwards, 2010).

The after effects of the 2001 earthquake in Gujarat (with Kutch as its epicentre) caused much harm to the region. With government policies and growth of industries in the region, the traditional hand-stitching skills of the local community were beginning to be lost (Edwards, 1999 and 2010).

Existing publications related to traditional garment construction¹ (Goswamy, 1993; Mathur, 1994; Bhandari, 2004; Edwards, 2011) approach the subject without analysing the making processes from the maker's perspective. Both, the traditional clothes making skills and the makers have been largely ignored with a few notable exceptions such as Shah and Banga (1992), Varadarajan (1999) and a few others.

Although I was involved in the local education system and have had professional fashion design training², my own exposure to traditional methods of garment construction was limited.

My teaching background at 'Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya', KRV (Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya, 2013, Online), India's first design institute for traditional textile artisans, enabled me to observe the rich tradition of clothes making in Kutch. The institute values traditional crafts and seeks a contemporary context for these traditions. The majority of its students and staff are from the Rabari community and wear traditional attire. Exposure to the Rabari culture motivated me to take up this research. In addition to this, in 2011 I collaborated with Alison Welsh on a research project during which I encountered professional tailors in Ahmedabad whose traditional methods of garment construction, although specific to the region, had not been acknowledged in any previous publication with the exception of Varadarajan's 'Needles, Scissors, Thread - The Layering of a Tradition' (1999). Therefore, the initial research focus of this study was to identify and understand the key processes involved in the construction of the traditional *kediyun*, including: fabric properties, use of draping, rules of proportion and additional ways of fitting form to body. However, as the research

¹ Garment construction in the thesis refers to stitched clothes.

² I was trained as a fashion designer (1999-2002) at NIFT (National Institute of Fashion Technology, Ministry of textile), India's premier institute of fashion design established in collaboration with FIT (Fashion Institute of Technology) New York.

progressed, I realised that the construction technique was rooted in the social, religious and cultural fabric of the Rabari community of Kutch. In order to provide context to the study of the Rabari *kediyun*, I also became engaged in the Ahir community and its approach to *kediyun* construction. Undertaking apprenticeships was a necessary, qualitative research method that I adopted to understand the action-based nature of the making process. As I had previously made garments using sewing machines, the apprenticeships proved to be an opportunity to learn and make completely hand-stitched garments. Within my own practice, this allowed me to understand the strength and function of hand-stitching and how to work with local communities. Additionally, working directly under the guidance of traditional makers enabled me to experience and study the process of making as part of the culture. In the Findings chapter, the practice is documented through photographs and in form of 16 minutes film “*Kediyun*”, which can be found on the DVD at the back of the thesis.

The research contributes to an understanding of traditional Indian garment construction, which may be relevant to fashion design education in India and beyond. Furthermore, the research acknowledges the individual makers of the craft who have hitherto been widely neglected.

The meaning of 'traditional' in context to the thesis

According to *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology* (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969, p441), tradition is, "[a] social custom passed down from one generation to another through the process of socialisation. Traditions represent the beliefs, values, and way of thinking of a social group." The making of the *kediyun* can therefore be described as a traditional practice, as Kutch women learn the craft from previous generations, such as their mothers or aunts.

The *Dictionary of Anthropology* (Barfield, 1997) notes that 'tradition' sometimes describes the continuity of an old practice. The World Intellectual Property Organisation³ (WIPO, 2013, Online) explains that "[t]raditional knowledge is knowledge, know-how, skills and practices that are developed, sustained and passed on from generation to generation within a community, often forming part of its cultural or spiritual identity." The *Oxford Reference Dictionary* (Soanes, 2001), describes that the word 'traditional' is related to "tradition [which] means the passing on of customs or beliefs from generation to generation. Generally, a long established custom or belief is passed in this way. It can be a method or style established by an artist, writer, or movement; and followed by others".

The wearing and making of the *kediyun* also encompasses cultural belief, thus it would be appropriate to describe the *kediyun* as a traditional garment and the making of it as a traditional process.

³ Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources

Chapter 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.0.0 Introduction of Literature Review

The aim of this research is to understand the process involved in the construction of a traditional upper garment for men, the *kediyun*. Approaching the process of making as a folk craft⁴, the larger debate on crafts in India will be reviewed to understand the broader context of *kediyun* making (Section 1.1.0). In Section 1.2.0. the dynamics of traditional Indian clothing will be reviewed.

To explore possible implications of the research the status of craft skills and traditional makers⁵ in Indian Design education will be examined (Section 1.3.0). The category of folk craft will be proposed for the *kediyun* in order to acknowledge that its making has social importance (Section 1.4.0). This will be followed by a brief synopsis of possible origins of the *kediyun* (Section 1.4.1).

After Kutch⁶ (Section 1.5.0), the region where the field research was conducted, is introduced, the background of the *kediyun* wearers and its embroidery will be reviewed (Section 1.6.0, to 1.7.0). This will be followed by an analysis of the limitations of existing publications that deal with traditional Indian clothing and traditional garment making processes. The final section will offer a conclusion of the literature review.

1.1.0 Relevance of traditional craft and its maker: India

This section will show how craft in India is socially, culturally and financially significant. It will provide a wider context for my study of the construction of the *kediyun*. The later part of this section will establish the marginalisation of craft and the crafts person, as well as the divide between craft communities and makers.

“In India, craft is not a thing of the past, but a thing of the present as well as of the future” (Balaram, 2006, p13). With nearly twenty-three million crafts persons still practising, craft is as contemporary as mass production, showing great socially

⁴ “The art, handicrafts, and decorative ornaments produced by people who have no formal art training but have established traditions of style and craftsmanship. A country or region may have a characteristic folk art” (Clarke, 2001 p102)

⁵ During the research, it was found that beside the women who traditionally make these clothes as a domestic craft there are professional tailors. The term ‘makers’ is therefore employed to differentiate traditional, domestic producers from tailors.

⁶ Kutch is the one of the largest district in West of India

and economically potential in the globalised world of the future. Anubha Sood (2007) emphasises that the development of the craft sector connects to the social development of craft producing communities. Three quarters of India's poor live in rural areas (Shah and Guru, 2003). However, Venkatesan (2009) suggests that with the burgeoning of Indian cities, skilled artisans continue (by choice or necessity) to find other kinds of work (2009). This suggests that craft is under threat.

Ashok Chatterjee, an expert in the field of Indian craft in an interview with (in Jongeword, 2002), outlines the need to look at crafts holistically: "[Y]ou have to attend to people or nothing else you do will be sustained." He illustrates this with the need to better understand the social needs of a deprived craft community as a way to improve the quality of life. If, according to Chatterjee (in Jongeword, 2002), the maker is separated from the product, the requirement to sustain craft cannot be realised. This gap widens further at the point of execution (Venkatesan, 2009), where the craftsperson is often seen as a skilled tool. Kak (2007) argues that a traditional article of clothing has two aspects: the material and the symbolic value. The first aspect has to do with technology of objects; the second aspect is about the culture of human beings. Hence, it is not only the objects that constitute tradition, but also the human beings who create and live it. To understand tradition and its future, is therefore not only reliant on "old techniques and design forms, the old technologies" (Kak, 2007), but also on the human beings who are its legatees and bearers. Similarly, a 1995 UN report (UN Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development) made a solemn and sombre admission that many development projects failed because the importance of culture had been underestimated (UN Report, 1995, Online). Hence, it is important to understand the craft skills from the maker's cultural perspective.

Meta (2009) relates that a loss of a craft can tear apart the social structure of society. Frater (2007) argues that the crafts are endangered, because the social status of crafts persons is low within society and that the wages earned by them are not even equal to manual labour.

In 1880, George Bridwood, described the craft practice of Indian artisans as being in a "tradition of a system of decoration founded on perfect principles, which they have learned through centuries of practice to apply with unerring truth" (in Kak, 2007). According to Frater (2009) in earlier times, the makers had direct access to clients and a better understanding of the market than they have today. Currently the intermediary separates the maker and consumer. Frater identifies the 'intermediary' as a 'trained' (urban) designer who acts as a sales agent. As Jena suggests: "In the globalization times, though with their products going global and increasing demand for it, there is a rise in the handicraft sector economy, still the artisans have become increasingly dependent on middle men" (Jena, 2010, p14). Therefore, craftspeople are characterised by a fundamental lack of agency over the potential benefits of their skills. They do not have a meaningful relationship with potential consumers or the market.

Venkatesan (2009) highlights the break between craft objects and their producer; she notes that the wealthy buyers are not interested in the real lives of the craftspeople. Her study also depicts the urban (consumer) and rural (craftsperson) divide. Jaitly (2007) similarly notes that rural craft villages are dependent on their urban clientele, which is accessible usually through intermediaries.

Traditional knowledge systems can offer solutions to contemporary problems and provide insights into concepts beyond our familiar approaches (Sabnani and Frater, 2012). McKeating (2012, p 76) advocates the craft preservation efforts made by Frater⁷ at Kala Raksha “[T]he people I met knew the importance of capturing and valuing the past to inform the future; not stagnant, but an evolving tradition, alive and lifting families out of poverty.”

Francus X. Hezel, SJ (2005) in an article entitled ‘Cultural Loss: How Real is the Threat?’ argues that culture is not lost but transformed. The argument is relevant and seems to reiterate the need to study which aspects of a culture and of cultural production are transformed, so that they appear lost. As the stewards of traditional knowledge dwindle, it becomes critical to document what is still available (Twarog and Kapoor, 2004).

According to Kak (2003), craftspeople have been marginalised by the “modernisation” and “industrialisation” of society. In addition, most of the craftspeople live in abject poverty. This posits important questions about the future of artisans in urban and rural areas. It furthermore emphasises the need for continued research into and considered development policies for crafts communities.

-In sum, this section has established the importance of studying traditional crafts, particularly in a manner that does not separate the maker from the process. Questions pertinent to this research include: what is the future of the craft of *kediyun* making? What is the relation between the conceptual, symbolic and technical aspects of making the *kediyun*? Is the construction of the *kediyun* changing? What is the future of the garment? What is the relevance of *kediyun* making as a craft? What relevance do the makers of *kediyun* have culturally?

1.2.0 Dynamics of traditional clothing

Similar to crafts processes, traditional clothing has a rich diversity across India. Although until recently the conventional academic view was that Indian identity was “neatly prescribed by caste or religious tradition, and that people, dressed in the clothes dictated to them over generations” (Tarlo, 1996, p1), traditions evolve.

⁷ Judy Frater is the founder of Kala Raksha and ‘Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya’, which is India’s first design education institute for the craftspeople of traditional textile.

Edwards suggests that dress has a significant place in Rabari culture which has been sustained over centuries and has been integral to the Rabari sense of individual and collective identity: “[T]he textiles traditionally used by Rabaris are chosen for what they believe to be their inherent purity, their power to deflect ritual pollution and to protect the wearer” (2010, p185).

During Gandhi’s boycott of western commodities, the use of local handmade textiles became a part of the independence movement. National dress came to be seen as part of the national identity and it became essential that national representatives wear the national dress (Dhamija, 2010). Policy makers have been accused of attempting to integrate people into nationalistic forms of identity, especially in a developing country. Emma Tarlo (1996, p150, my emphasis in original) notes that “so called ‘Kathiawadi peasant dress’ bore more resemblance to the long *angarakha*⁸ worn principally by the elite than to the short *kediyun* worn by many peasants.” However, in many parts of India, traditional clothing does hold an important place for caste and identity. Edwards (2010) describes the complex situation of a village school that opened in 1993 in Kutch that had no female students for four years. The parents of Rabari (Hindu Pastoral community) girls did not want them to wear the uniform as it was seen as a pollution of their identity. The *shalwar-kameez* (long tunic and loose trousers) and *dupatta* (scarf used for veiling) they were required to wear in school was associated with Muslims. Furthermore, for Rabaris a woman to wear trousers was considered immodest. Hence, it may be said that in the Rabari culture, their traditional clothing style has been suppressed, despite the sentiments it still holds for a large part of the community.

There is a palpable shift in clothing patterns in many parts of India to what is perceived as styles that are more ‘Western’. Emma Tarlo’s book *Clothing Matters* (1996) vividly describes the dilemma of what to wear. The arrival of cable TV and the opening of trade barriers encouraged a new, international spirit that is also reflected in clothing. Referencing her field research, Tarlo states that Western-style clothing is considered progressive⁹. Mitra (2005) nominates television as a prime influence for the popularity of Western style clothing all over India.

Frater (forthcoming publication) illustrates how in Kutch, ‘traditional dress’ is seen, on the one hand, as a sign of not being progressive, or being anti-fashion and on the other, as having the potential to link with global markets.

⁸ *Angarkha*: The origin of the garment predates the advent of Islamic fashion by at least 1,000 years. The word *angarkha* is derived from the Sanskrit *angarakshak*, literally protector of the limb (Kumar, 1995).

⁹ In 1994, Tarlo revisited a village in Gujarat where she lived during her research after a period of five years. She found cheap, machine-made versions of traditional hand-embroidery purchased by local women. In another village, she found commerce overpowering the traditional way of life.

The key points that have emerged in this section concern the overall significance of traditional attire in India, its symbolic value, the emergence of Western clothing and the notion of clothing as a community-centred marker of identity.

1.3.0 Status of craft skills and the traditional maker in design education

Given that, the makers of the traditional crafts are marginalised in India (Venkatesan 2009, Frater 2007, Kak 2003), it may be possible that the makers of the *kediyun* could benefit from design education. Similarly, their skills and knowledge could contribute to design education. The aim of this section is to suggest the potential significance of a study of this research by exploring the relation the makers could have with design education and vice versa.

Charles and Ray in their report recommended that craft's significance is the key element that should be considered for establishing India's premier design institute. The report was the result of an extensive study and was commissioned by the Indian government (in Scotford, 2005).

Frater (2011) identifies that there is a pressing need for education that is relevant for rural people. Design education is proposed as a solution to bridge the division of art and labour. Frater (2011) believes that the traditional craftspeople (in India) is the best designer to make the work of the artisan economically viable to consumers and a larger market. Through practical and pertinent education, Frater is building the expertise of craftspeople to make a significant contribution to the sustainability of the craft tradition (Waterman, 2011). Soumya (2013), Roy (2009) and Frater (2007) emphasise how design education has empowered women artisans. Hence, the involvement of traditional makers of garments in design education would benefit them.

Welsh (2011, p 8) studies the current Gujarati tailoring techniques and in her conclusion expresses that "there is immense value in retaining pattern-cutting traditions; this intellectual property should be freely available to designers with an interest in generic garments". She adds that although there is an argument that craft skills can be recovered through craft-banks, "[s]uperficially, the findings give some support to the often-expressed view that skills are in danger of being 'lost'". Kumar (1999) recognises the dichotomy that traditional craft is under threat but, at the same time, influences the development of fashion and its industry. These are just two of many examples that indicate the potential traditional crafts and traditional makers possess in the field of fashion and design.

Two key points that emerge in this section are the necessity of involvement of craftspeople in design education and the opportunities that design education holds for craftspeople. The questions raised for this research broadly concern the relationship between tradition and innovation: Do individuals generate creative design inputs in making the *kediyun*?

1.4.0 The *kediyun*: How to categorise it?

Should the *kediyun* be described as a craft product? Traditionally it is an article of clothing made domestically by and for family members. “Handicrafts are a major element of folklore developed in India. These are objects made by the skill of the hand and depict the ingenuity of the creator and cultural heritage evolved over centuries. Created primarily to serve the ritual and personal needs of the community, these handicraft objects have entered the market for commercial trade” (Kutty, 2002, p20). Venkatesan points out that craft which does not have a commercial value for urban consumers is marginalised (2009,). She writes that the relevance of craft is placed in the hands of urban consumers. Since *kediyun*¹⁰ are not sought after by urban markets, this indicates that the craft of making it is marginalised.

Frater states “[f]olk embroidery, unlike other textile art, was originally for personal use. Though commercialization and new production techniques have been introduced in the last 30 years, Rabaris continue to embroider traditional work for themselves, making unique creations” (2007, p2).

Traditionally, Indian folk craft is not rooted in commercial exchange and the *kediyun* may thus be categorised as folk craft. The folk aspect of the garment is an important consideration while studying the garment making process. The symbolic value and the maker’s direct involvement are critical to the study.

1.4.1 A Possible origin of the *kediyun*

Frater (1995) suggests that the *kediyun* may find its roots in the clothing of the Rajputs. Mughals influenced the traditional attire of Rajputs men. Goswamy’s (1993) analysis suggests that Akbar planned to make *jama*¹¹ a type of garment accepted both by Hindus and Muslims. “But he was conscious of the fact that Hindu and Muslims be told at sight (since in many other respects it was now difficult to tell them apart), so that no awkwardness of any kind arise, no social *faux pas* are made. The Hindus fastening the garment outside with tie-cords at the left armpit, Muslims with the same kinds of tie-cords at the right armpit. The inner

¹⁰ The word *kediyun* is used for both singular and plural, as it is not a Gujarati word.

¹¹ “In Persian the word *jama* could mean ‘a garment, robe, vest, coat, or wrapper’. In many cases there little visible difference between a *jama* and a *choga* or *atamsukh*, all of which are long crossover robes. The garment was probably introduced to India Scythians or Kushans in the second century and was popular among the Rajputs ...” “At some point in its evolution, a waist seam was introduced and the skirt attached to it became fuller and more gathered. The tight fitting double breasted bodice was fastened with tie-strings or *kas*- one pair of which held the inner panel in place under one arm, and a second pair secured the cross-over panel under the other arm”. (Kumar, 1999, p150).

invisible fastening would, quite naturally, be exactly in the opposite directions, considering the cut of the garment.”

This rule is also visible in the *kediyun* with its ties being under the left armpit and the communities wearing *kediyun* being Hindu.

1.5.0 Kutch region: Communities, land and earthquake

Kutch¹² is the largest district of Gujarat state, based in Western India, bordering Pakistan. A large part of the population of Kutch were traditionally pastoralists and herdsmen, for example the *Ahir* raising cows, the *Charan* raising water buffaloes and horses, the *Rabari* breeding camels, and the *Bharvad* keeping sheep and goats. Peasant castes such as the LevaKanbi (Patidar) from mainland Gujarat settled in significant numbers in Kutch only in the nineteenth century (Basu, 2005). The Hindu pastoral communities recognise each other as 'dhabli bhai'¹³ (Frater, 1995).

The government policies towards the Rabari community have affected traditional clothes making (Edwards, 1999). Edwards adds that the Rabari men regard the wearing of trousers and shirts as more progressive, rather than wearing a *kediyun*. In 2001, the region suffered a major earthquake with over 18,000 people losing their lives (Mistry, 2001). Has the earthquake affected the handicrafts of Kutch, with industrial development being encouraged by the government in Kutch?

1.6.0 Rabaris of Kutch: Historical background to origin and subgroups

Rabaris are pastoral nomads (traditionally camel breeders) of west India. Rabaris live mostly in parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat. Scattered groups have also settled in parts of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, and a few *dhangs* (migratory groups) have settled in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh (Choksi and Dyer, 1996). The Rabaris are predominately illiterate. According to Edwards (1999), official documentation of the caste in Kutch is scanty¹⁴. An estimate by agencies working with Rabaris, suggests that they number about 150,000 in the district, and that another 50,000 are "out of state" with the *dhangs* (migratory groups) on migration (Edwards, 1999, p18).

¹² Kutch means something that intermittently becomes wet and dry; a large part of this district is known as *Rann of Kutch*, which is shallow wetland, which submerges in water during the rainy season and becomes dry during other seasons. The Rann is famous for its marshy salt flats. The region is semi desert with the temperature soaring up to 48 degree centigrade in the summers.

¹³ Dhabli bhai is a term to indicate parallel relationships. The communities who use these pieces (blankets) of material culture recognize that they are of more or less equal social status. In the case of the *tansali*, they can eat together, a critical indicator of relationship in Hindu society.

Dhabli bhai status derives from similar livelihoods. Since all were pastoralists, they needed the blankets for various functions while moving around, and they had access to wool as a raw material.

¹⁴ "In about 1920, the British administration decided to cease recording population data by caste in a well-meaning attempt to discourage a preoccupation with caste. Thus, specific references to Rabaris are absent and they are included under general occupational and religious heading such as 'herdsmen', and 'Hindu', in records" (Westphal-Hellbusch 1975, p125).

The Rabaris of Kutch migrated from Sindhi in the 14th century¹⁵. In Kutch, the Rabaris enjoyed the patronage of the ruling Jadeja Rajputs, and provided the Maharao (the ruler of Kutch) with camels for his army, also serving as spies and emissaries (Edwards, 1999). Frater notes that the British rule was a time of great technological change¹⁶. Today, only a few Rabaris herd camel, most of them subsist by driving sheep, goats or water buffaloes. With the advent of urbanisation in the 20th century, the social tea-drinking stall became firmly established. "There was a need for milk, and Rabaris responded to it", for the most part by selling milk (Frater, 1995, p38). "City Rabaris mainly rear cows and buffaloes and earn their livelihood selling milk." (Shah and Banga, 1992, p9)

The Rabaris in Kutch are divided into three sub-groups¹⁷. However, they consist of close-knit communities. In terms of the community's governing structures such as *nat*, a formal meeting at which matters affecting the community are discussed, women are not included in this, they have no voice and little real say in the rules that govern their lives. (Edwards, 2010)

A recent example illustrating the impact of men's voices on women's practice is the ban by the Dhebaria subgroup *nat* on creating and using embroidery for personal use (elaborated upon in the next section). Thus we might ask whether the making of kediyun by women could be viewed as a vulnerable practice.

¹⁵ Edwards (2010, p189) describes the story of Rabari migration into Kutch that relates to the clothing pattern of the community "The *raja* (prince) of Jaisalmer fell in love with a young Rabaran but a marriage was impossible because Rabaris do not marry out of caste. In order to avoid *raja*'s anger, the Rabaris prayed for time and then fled from Jaisalmer under cover of night. Their flight took them to Sindh, where they sought refuge with Hamir Sumro, the ruler of Umarkot. The ruler of Jaisalmer pursued them and after a lengthy battle, Hamir Sumro, their protector, was killed. Following this the Rabaran adopted black mourning dress to mark both the death of Hamir Sumro and the loss of their homeland." In contrast to the women dressed in black, men wear white clothes.

¹⁶ "The railway system was built; later the road system was expanded. This constituted a traumatic change in the environment of the Rabaris: people no longer required great numbers of camels that the Rabari raised for transportation. Following Indian independence the Sindh region was severed in two parts and most of the Rabaris fled to Indian side" (Frater, 1995, p 37).

¹⁷ The three subgroups of Rabari in Kutch are: Kachhis, Dhebarias and Vagadias. Kachhis inhabit central and western Kutch and can be subdivided into Gardo and Maghpat, which are also geographical territories occupied by these subdivisions. (Edwards, 1999). Frater indicates that Kachhi refers to the region of Baluchistan, an area they may have migrated from (Frater, 1995). Dhebarias live mostly in Anjar-*taluka* (division of district). Vagadias derived their name from Vagad (meaning wind and stone) areas of eastern Kutch. Like Kachhis they are further subdivided into two groups: Nani-Vagad (also known as Kantho) and Moti-Vagad. Apart from a few Rabari-only hamlets, they live in mixed villages, although each caste has its own discrete area, very often with a separate water supply and temple. (Edwards, 1999)

1.6.1 Rabari embroideries and changing customs

The *kediyun* that is worn for daily wear is plain, whereas, for ceremonial and festive use, it is embroidered¹⁸.

A major change that occurred in the Dhebaria Rabari community was a ban on embroidery for personal use imposed by the men of the community on its women. "In 1995, in response to the pressure of social changes, the Dhebriannath or group of elders who determine laws within the community banned the making and wearing of embroidery. Ostensibly, the rationale for this extreme step was that embroidery was becoming expensive in terms of time and monetary cost. Embroidery had become a means of leverage for increasing the value of exchange and delaying final transfer of brides to their in-laws' homes. The ban was decreed to stop this trend and shorten the time between marriage and actual cohabitation. It is absolute, with an enforced fine of Rs. 5,000 (the monthly pay of high level government servant) for infraction" (Frater 2004, p148). As a direct result of this, the *kediyun* worn at weddings by this subgroup became unembroidered.

Edwards (2010) describes Arjanbahi's account of a local Dhebaria man who was punished for wearing an embroidered *kediyun* by the community headmen. In his defence, the man said that he wished to wear the embroidered *kediyun* as his wife had embroidered it for him. However, he was beaten; his *kediyun* was torn and tied to the *wadi* (farm) gate.

"For many Rabaran, the banishment of dowry embroidery could not be constructed as positive; it signified only the inauspicious state of widowhood." Edwards (2010, p204). (Note the ban was imposed on Dhebaria Rabari, not Kachhi Rabari.)

With the changes in their lifestyle, Kachhi Rabari women increasingly opt for machine embroidery for their clothing (Frater, 2004). The Kachhi Rabari subgroup had their own response to the fact that hand embroidery was becoming "expensive." Frater points out that although machine embroidery is a departure, it follows the essence of tradition and does not radically change the aesthetics. It saves time. It facilitates an acceptably similar result, and in fact allows Kachhi women to concentrate on designing rather than executing their art. "Rabaris are willing to innovate, so long as it is within the acceptable norms" (Frater, 2004, p149).

¹⁸ Crill (1999) recognises Indian embroideries for their unique, rich heritage, particularly those from Gujarat. Over the past few decades women folk embroiderers have been recognised for their embroideries in India and internationally, in particular that of the Rabaris. The embroidery is highly decorative and organic in composition. The popular stitches included chain stitch- *sakdi*, backstitch- *bakhiyo* and interlaced stitch - *bavaliyo*. Women's clothing also includes mirror-work applied by buttonhole stitch.

Although the study of hand embroidery is beyond the scope of this research, two elements related to embroidery and its integral relation to the *kediyun* will be explored. Firstly, whether this decorative feature relates to the construction of the *kediyun*, and if so, how? Secondly, if the ban on embroidery has encouraged makers to abandon the hand-stitching of the *kediyun*?

1.7.0 Ahir of Kutch (in context of Rabari)

“Originally wandering cattle breeders, the Ahir have practically become settled farmers today” (Jain, 1980, p72). The Ahirs are devotees of Lord Krishna. They believe to have migrated from Mathura, in the North of India, along with Lord Krishna and settled down in Saurashtra and Kutch region of Gujarat. The Ahir live mainly in Bhuj, Anjar and Vagad areas of Kutch. As Lord Krishna is known as a cowherd, the Ahirs have high regard for cows, whereas Rabaris are associated with camels.

The Ahir are subdivided into four groups in Kutch. In many villages of Kutch, the Ahirs and Rabaris live together. However, often they have separate temples or water sources. Like Rabaris, “the subgroups do not intermarry but do interdine” (Jain, 1980, p73).

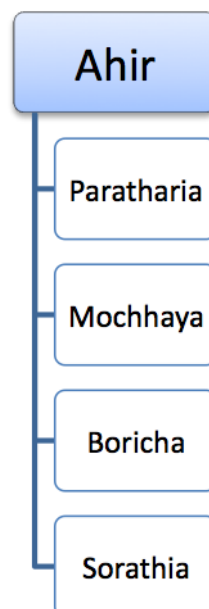


Figure 1.0: The diagram depicts the subgroups of the Ahir community in Kutch.

Ahir women, like Rabari women, are known for their embroidery. Although most of the stitches practiced by the two groups are similar, the colour palette and style of the embroidery is different.

1.8.0 Literature on traditional garment making processes: Where are the makers?

This section will identify a gap of knowledge within the subject of traditional clothing in India, particularly reviewing publication related to clothing and textiles of Kutch, the research region.

The Rabaris are one of the last nomadic communities in India, which have stimulated a variety of research on embroiderers (Elson 1979, Frater, 1995), as well as clothing classification and the changes in the patterns of clothing (Edwards, 2010 and 2011). However, none of this research addresses the maker of the stitched clothes or the making process, with the exception of 'The Rabari of Ahmedabad' (Shah and Banga, 1992). This publication too mainly focuses on categorising clothing; the process of garments' construction is devoid of the maker's cultural context.

Tarlo (1996) describes the marginalisation of clothing in Indian anthropology¹⁹. Goswamy²⁰ (1993) wrote one of the first comprehensive studies on stitched Indian garments that included detailed garment patterns. While the book serves as an excellent historical reference, he only touches on the subject of 'making'. The garment patterns are presented with detailed information of seam construction and measurements. However, the analysis is devoid of the maker's involvement; hence, it is difficult to comprehend the actual process of garment construction. The analysis details 'what' is done to construct the garments, but 'how' it is done remains unexplored. This may have been due to the 'museum nature' of the garments discussed. Noticeably, other publications on the subject of traditional clothing in India, e.g., Mathur (1994), Kumar (1999), Bhandari (2004) and Jain (2009), apply a similar approach to Goswamy.

Varadarajan (1999), offers a rare overview of the traditional maker, yet does not present an actual example of detailed garment construction. Equally, Edwards (2011), in a very recent and comprehensive publication on the subject entitled *Textile and Dress of Gujarat*, again limits clothing construction to a mention in passing.

Publications that relate to the specific context of the Rabaris of Kutch (Dhamija, 2004; Edwards, 1999; Frater, 1995; Fisher, 1994; Elson, 1979) and the Ahirs of Kutch (Anjirbag, 2011; Jyotiba, 2010; Naik, 1996) highlight clothes, wearers,

¹⁹ According to Tarlo (YR), clothes were considered as a 'feminine' issue, and even with the advent of female anthropologists, little was written about the subject of clothes. Tarlo mentions that the key research (1970s to 1982) was usually restricted to the significance of the veil or women's rituals.

²⁰ The president of India, honoured Goswamy for his contribution in Art History; he was awarded the *Padma Shri* (1998) and the *Padma Bhushan* (2008).

embroiderers and textile crafts, but yet again, the makers of the clothes and processes involved are not considered in detail.

Publications on traditional clothing tend to generalise the style of a community of wearers, and rarely acknowledge the specific creativity of individual clothes makers. In none of the above-mentioned publications are individual styles of garment construction or information on individual makers detailed.

Why is the majority of literature on traditional clothing devoid of the makers' involvement? Does design education not encourage it? Is the craft world mainly interested in craft as social rather than individual creation? Are there individual variations in the making of the *kediyun*? These questions demonstrate a need for a research methodology that places the maker of the *kediyun* at its core.

1.9.0 Conclusion of the literature review

The chapter has indicated firstly, that the available literature marginalises traditional methods of clothes construction. Secondly, there are only a small number of publications that declare an interest in traditional makers of clothes within their cultural context. Existing publications usually focus mainly on the categorisation of clothing. The literature revealed that, whilst the historic information on Indian clothing is rich, there is very little information on the actual making process of traditional garments, particularly one that also accounts for the maker.

Artisans do not have access to design education (particularly traditional clothes makers), therefore limiting the avenues available that would potentially enhance their practice. Publications on traditional Indian clothes making skills are scant, perhaps giving one reason for the non-inclusion of these practises within fashion and design education.

The lifestyle of people in Kutch is rapidly changing. The traditional craft of hand making clothes (especially those unique to the Rabari, Ahir and various ethnic groups of Kutch) is a casualty of this change. Nowadays, the wearing of traditional clothing is perceived by many people from within and without the community as being backward.

The literature review has raised important questions about the future of the traditional craft involved in the *kediyun*'s construction and the position of its makers in society. There is therefore a need for a research methodology that places the maker of the *kediyun* at its core

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

2.0.0 Introduction to methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology I have used to achieve the objectives of my research. I will explain the reasoning for employing qualitative research methods as a way to conduct my primary research. Moreover, I will define my position as a researcher and apprentice and describe the data analysis strategy that resulted. Finally, I will examine the ethical issues surrounding the research methods.

The aim of the research was to understand the construction of the *kediyun* as practised by its traditional makers. To do this the makers were studied in their own making environments. A qualitative research²¹ method was adopted for the field research.

Part of the research methodology included the undertaking of apprenticeships (see section 2.3.0). Given the centrality of my perceptions and reflections in the data gathering process, I chose to write the methodology and findings chapter auto-ethnographically²².

2.1.0 Introduction to the research and reasoning for choosing the *kediyun*

The aim of the research was to identify and understand the key processes involved in the construction of the traditional *kediyun*. My intention was to understand the craft-process of making a traditional Indian garment.

Within the broader framework of qualitative research methods, I chose the method of apprenticing myself to a small number of makers of *kediyun*, with the rationale that this would allow me to gain direct access to the makers and to their making processes.

²¹ According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p5) "Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible." "Qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers studying things in their natural settings attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them."

²² Ellis & Bochner (2000, p742) define auto-ethnography as, "autobiographies that self-consciously explore the interplay of the introspective, personally engaged self with cultural descriptions mediated through language, history, and ethnographic explanation

The *kediyun* was proposed to be studied due to the following reasons:

Traditional: pastoral communities of Kutch have traditionally worn the *kediyun* for centuries, suggesting that the making process was passed on from generation to generation.

Accessibility: Due to my experience of teaching in Kutch since 2007, I had access to this community, especially to women in what is a conservative community. The credibility of being known and knowing how to conduct myself with cultural appropriateness was important.

Undergoing change²³: Following the 2001 earthquake in Kutch and increasing globalisation, the number of wearers and makers of the *kediyun* have been shrinking.

Understanding of garment construction: I am familiar with basic pattern making, cutting and stitching technique of clothes through my educational background in garment construction.

Kutch was defined as the research area because it was accessible to me as a researcher, and I was already familiar with it.

Accessibility: With experience of teaching in Kutch since 2007, I had existing contacts and a familiarity with the local culture.

2.2.0 The approach of studying the making of the *kediyun*

The goal of the study was to understand the making of the *kediyun* in a way that did not separate the maker from the process (as already indicated in the literature review chapter).

There were four important reasons for studying the *kediyun* not as an object separate from its production (purely technical) but as an aspect of crafting and living. The first reason acknowledges that craft and art are perceived as a way of life in India and therefore to understand the *kediyun* is to understand a way of life. Fisher (1993, p18) describes art and craft as being a way of life. “[...] Gods and Goddesses can generally be described as being aspects of one eternal being so that ‘everything is a manifestation of the divine substance’.” Jamnaben, one of the *kediyun* makers had a similar idea. Hence, to understand the craft process it was important not to separate it from the maker. The craft ‘process’ is an extension of social, religious and community beliefs.

²³ According to Jamnaben, one of the makers of the *kediyun*, earlier five out of every hundred women in her village would have known how to cut the pattern of the *kediyun* and practiced the craft. However, during the period of my research, it was found (through interviewing the villagers) that she was the only remaining maker who practiced the craft in a village with an estimated population of 10,000 people. A few people from neighbouring villages visited her to commission the making of a *kediyun*, as there were no other makers left in their villages either. According to Jamnaben’s son the local industries in Kutch discourage wearing of *kediyun*, deeming it to be not practical as work wear.

The second reason is the connection between craft and religious belief. It highlights the need to see the object as part of a system, which places the maker in relation to others. This follows Kramrisch²⁴, who describes that the Indian craftsperson does not perceive the art as his own but as originating in the divine.

Being thus familiar with and cognisant of, not only the technicalities of practice but also the cultural significance, the craftsperson connects the ancient custom with contemporary communities. The craftsperson enables communities to live their tradition, not just to know of it (Kramrisch, 1958).

The third reason concerns knowledge. Sigaut (1993, p106) builds on Bloch's ideas (1991) arguing that there are two kinds of knowledge that help us to understand human actions and culture. One is "linguistic-like" and the other "action routinely and efficiently performed". Sigaut defines the first one as "*awareness or explicitness*" and the second as "*implicit*". He adds that "[...] mere description of bicycle riding or of violin playing never enabled anyone to ride a bicycle or become a good violinist. To know how people do things and to know how to do them oneself are two different matters" (1993, p106). Hence, the decision was taken to learn to actually make the *kediyun* rather than just observe the making.

The fourth reason was to acknowledge the unique approach of the makers of the *kediyun* towards their craft. I wanted to build an understanding of how the craft of making the *kediyun* and other garments that the community made was part of the social and geographical environment.

2.3.0 Apprenticeship as method

Building on the framework developed by Coy (1989), Cooper (1989), Merchand (2010) and various other scholars, I chose apprenticeship as the methodology to understand the making of the *kediyun*. However, the nature of the apprenticeship during the research was unique in its format, as the makers of the *kediyun* do not commonly teach the craft through apprenticeships²⁵. Traditionally women learnt the craft socially through observation. In specific subgroups, there were songs that describe aspects of the process of *kediyun* making.

As the women had learnt by observation, they were taciturn about the making processes while teaching me. I had to remind them to explain what they were

²⁴ "As a practitioner of the tradition, the craftsman fulfils a double obligation. In a straight line, he is linked with the fountainhead, sum total of Consciousness, of knowledge and inspiration. Its immediate presence in the actual moment of his work is guaranteed by the unbroken line of sages and craftsmen who have transmitted to him his particular craft." (Kramrisch 1958, p225).

²⁵ The duration of my three apprenticeships lasted almost a week each. The apprenticeship under Jamnaben, and Bhaddiben and Puriben was not a daily activity. I was told not to come on certain days as the women had other social obligations. I worked in a domestic setting, sometimes having a meal prepared by the family members of the house. However, on no occasion did the makers eat a meal with me. As a social norm, the women eat only after their guest has.

doing or request them to inform me when and how a new step was taken. I was expected to look at the stitching, measuring and cutting processes and to understand them through observation. “Apprenticeship is the means of imparting specialized knowledge to a new generation of practitioners. It is the rite of passage that transforms novices into experts. It is a means of learning things that cannot be easily communicated by conventional means” (Coy, 1989, pxi).

As I was motivated to understand the making of the *kediyun* from a cultural perspective, it was important to interpret the craft as the community did. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), as participant observers, researchers can learn the culture or subculture of the people who are the subject of study. “We can come to interpret the world more or less in the same way they do” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p8). Apprenticeship as a methodology is seen as a good means to become adequately immersed in the local culture. Coomaraswamy (1909), the pioneering historian and philosopher of Indian art, reveals that there are trade secrets about the craft that the master would only teach to the pupil who had proven himself worthy. Hence, it was critical to establish a devoted student-teacher relation with the *kediyun* makers in order to understand the details of the making process. Cooper (1989, p137), in an introduction to *Apprenticeship as Field Method*, writes that he is inspired by the Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong’s theory on practice: “[...] actual participation in productive labour is seen as a key to understanding the situation of working people in the real world, and as a means of bridging the gap which comes to separate the man of knowledge and the productive labour as the division of labour in society becomes increasingly complex.” Following Cooper, I perceived apprenticeships as a method that would allow me to bridge the gap between ‘labour’ and ‘knowledge’. All the *kediyun* makers appreciated the fact that I sat down next to them and hand-stitched the entire *kediyun*, even though it took days. The women were cooperative and patient as a response to my eagerness to make the *kediyun* myself and not just photograph it. However, Bhaddiben (one of the makers) occasionally was irritated by the fact that I took photos of almost each stage of the *kediyun* making prolonging the time of completion.

The making of the *kediyun* was practiced sitting on the floor and using the entire body as a creative tool. Using minimal tools helped me to reflect on the self-sufficiency of the process. Marchand (2010) advocates apprenticing as a research methodology in craft: “Crafts - like sports, dance and other skilled physical activities - are largely communicated, understood and negotiated between practitioners without words, and learning is achieved through observation, mimesis and repeated exercise.” He goes on to explain that having applied the methodology, apprenticeship can allow for reflection upon one’s own learning, mistakes and progress.

2.3.1 Additional methods

I spent some of my two months of fieldwork travelling, primarily to meet the three Rabari sub-groups who are geographically spread out in different pockets within Kutch. Sometimes I travelled accompanied by Diyalalbhai²⁶.

At one occasion I travelled to Vagad region, northwest of Kutch to visit the Vagadia Rabari concentrated in the region. I visited ten villages in a period of five days. Though Diyalalbhai's relatives I met three to four families in each village.

The families of different communities I met during my travel to Vagad, gave me an initial understanding of the *kediyun* and its makers. After seeking permission, I photographed and video-recorded interviews, activities and articles such as the *kediyun*. As the process of making the *kediyun* was motion-based, video proved highly effective in recording gestures and movement of the body, needle and thread.

During my travel within Kutch, I acquired two examples of the machine-made *kediyun* from different Rabari subgroups of the Anajar and Rapar villages. The *kediyun* acquired served as the basis for a comparisons between hand- and machine-made ones. However, I do not discuss this aspect in this thesis as I chose to focus on the hand-stitched *kediyun*. Nevertheless, it is important to state that certain stitches that are practiced by hand cannot be executed with a sewing machine.

Additionally by engaging in local activities, I came to understand how the *kediyun* functioned as ritual and daily wear. This included a visit to the local cow and buffalo community shed, travel with a Rabari camel herder (See Appendix 1) and attending a Rabari wedding²⁷.

In addition, I also taught at KRV (Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya) in order to develop contacts and access the local Rabari community. The time spent teaching at KRV provided the basis to visit Vandh village, attend a local wedding, and make contact with Rabari women. It was the presence of the institute's director, Judy Frater, which allowed me access to the wedding (which was otherwise a private affair) and enabled me to speak to Rabari families in Vandh village.

²⁶ I engaged a local weaver Diyalalbhai Vankar, who was one of my students from KRV, to act as my cultural translator. His cultural understanding was an immense help to me in approaching the communities in remote villages. He also supported me with translations.

²⁷ It was found that according to Rabari custom, the *kediyun* worn by the groom should be made by the first cousin (sister) and this was how she was introduced to the community. However, the custom has now changed. Upon inquiring, I found that the groom (Vanakabahi) wore a *kediyun* that was not made by his sister. However, I could not find out who had made this particular *kediyun*.

2.4.0 Defining who is a traditional maker of *kediyun*; selecting makers for apprenticeships

As established previously, the aim of the research was to understand the traditional method of the *kediyun* construction; hence it was important to understand who was a traditional maker of the *kediyun*.

While identifying who the traditional maker of *kediyun* would be, I discovered (through interviews with *kediyun* wearers) that there are three possibilities to acquire a new *kediyun*:

Readymade *kediyun*, sewn using a machine are purchasable from specialised retail shops from the local town market.

Tailor-stitched *kediyun*, sewn on a sewing machine using the fabric given by the customer

Hand-stitched *kediyun*, made by women from the same community as those who will wear it.

Through further interviews with makers from the above three categories, it was found that the *kediyun* was traditionally made only by women from the same community as those who wore it. Tailors (primarily men) started making the *kediyun* only some forty years ago²⁸.

Based on these findings, I decided to take up a short apprentice under women who knew how to make *kediyun*. I did not encounter any women under the age of fifty who knew how to make the *kediyun*.

Through existing contacts at KRV with Judy Frater and Shamji Vankar, I informally interviewed over one hundred members of the local community and travelled to different parts of Kutch to understand what, according to the local community, made a good *kediyun*. Following interviews with wearers and fellow community members, I identified three makers who were open to being part of the research. In order to understand the diversity of the *kediyun* style, apprenticeships were set up with two different ethnic groups, Ahir and Rabari. I have focused on the *kediyun* made by the women of Rabari community (Bhaddiben and Puriben), using my experience with the Ahir maker as a comparison.

²⁸ Three different tailors in different parts of Kutch (Vagad, Madaphar village and Anjar) confirmed that they had learnt how to make the *kediyun* by examining existing *kediyun*, made by the women in the community. Harkuben Rabri (Vandh village) in an interview commented that “Where would one find a tailor in a jungle? We were nomadic until some thirty years ago and made the *kediyun* on our own while migrating.” Deviben Rabari in Bharudia village recounted that there were no sewing machines or tailors who made the *kediyun* until some thirty-five years ago (Ghai, 2013).

Name of the maker(s)	Community	Village	<i>Kediyun</i> made by maker(s)	<i>Kediyun</i> made by me
Jivaben	Debriya Rabari	Lodai	1	-none-
Jamnaben	Machhoya Ahir	Padhar	1	1
Bhaddiben and Puriben	Debriya Rabari	Mamuara	1	1
Table 1: The makers of the <i>kediyun</i>				

The following map of Kutch indicates the three locations of the apprenticeships.



Plate 1.3 Map of Kutch

2.5.0 Ethics

It was important to address the ethics that surrounded my relation with the traditional craft community in Kutch. I observed the community rule of respect, such as not taking photographs in a temple. I always gained permission from people, asking them if they wanted to be involved in my research. In addition, I took their signature on the consent form (with translation in the local language) that I had prepared and gained their permission to allow me to audio-video record their interview and to photograph them (See Appendix 2)

“Relational ethics requires researchers to act from our hearts and minds, acknowledge our interpersonal bonds to others, and take responsibility for actions and their consequences” (Ellis C, 2007, p3). The apprenticeship approach eased the power relationship between the makers and me. I was seen as part of the making activity rather than just paying the makers for personal commissions. I compensated the makers monetarily with a sum they felt was appropriate²⁹, paying them for the time they gave to my research rather than merely for the time it would have taken them to make the *kediyun*.

According to Coy (1989, p3), “[a]ll in all, the education that apprentices receive has as much to do with how to behave as it has to do with mastering specific tasks.” I had to be flexible with my conduct. Being sensitive to the conservative society that the women were part of, I consciously made an effort to involve a male family member whilst working with the women. The strategy worked well as I needed a male person to whose size I could stitch the *kediyun*. In the case of Jivaben (Hasuben), I adjusted my plan to suite her schedule, as she was not keen to be part of the research beyond a certain time.

A number of scholars (Coy, Cooper and Deafenbaugh 1989) have remarked that a craft-based apprenticeship is not only a means of perpetuating a craft but also of destroying the power of its maker. However, in the case of studying the craft of making the *kediyun*, I was looking at a craft, which was in decline, and had thus lost its power. Moreover, Jamnaben, one of the last traditional *kediyun* craftswomen, was proud of the fact that she had shared the knowledge of making the *kediyun* with me.

²⁹ Jamnaben Ahir was the only maker discovered who still made (hand-stitched) *kediyun* as a practice. She did not charge money from her relatives. When fellow village inhabitants commissioned the making, she took Rs 250 from them. According to Jamnaben it took her one and a half days to make a *kediyun* by hand. As per Jamnaben’s suggestion, I gave her Rs 250 per day. Rs 300 was agreed to be paid to each Bhaddhiben and Puriben. Jivaben received Rs 300 plus her travel costs. In addition, as a local custom, I gave presents (drawing books) to the children in the home of the *kediyun* makers. I gave individuals a copy of the photographs that I took of them. For the recorded songs, I requested the singer to listen to the recording and got their permission to use it.

2.6.0 Media of field research (methods of data collection):

Making the *kediyun* myself to experience the making process: By making a *kediyun* myself, I was able to experience the making process. The dual role of a researcher and a maker enabled me to reflect on the making process.

Commissioning *kediyun*: I commissioned a *kediyun* from the makers so that I could study its construction and in order to have a reference of their craft.

Miniature paper patterns: To understand how the fabric was cut I translated the patterns into scaled paper patterns.

Photography: To visually record the process and the makers.

Audio recording: To record interviews and folk songs.

Video recording: To record the stitching motion and the body movement of the makers during the making process, also to record wearers and makers in their environment.

I kept field notes and collected a variety of relevant artefacts, such as cloth and old photographs.

Bank and Morphy (1997, p277) argue that visual media is not natural. “The visual media make use of principles of implication, visual resonance identification and shifting perspectives that differ radically from the principles of most anthropological writings.” It therefore becomes apparent that the use of video-recording equipment adds another, valuable dimension to the field research. Written field notes, just like still photography and video-recording, are not a neutral, unadulterated method of record and observation. I have attempted to broaden the spectrum of observational and record-keeping techniques in order to benefit from their strength and undermine their individual shortcomings.

Prosser and Loxley (2008, p13) state that “[f]or those with an interest in the material settings in which action and interaction arises, video recordings provide researchers with the opportunity to analyse the emerging characteristics of those ecologies”.

During her research, Janesick (2007) has reported how video recording provided an important medium to record the oral histories.

Video recording was valuable to the research as the subject involved movement.

2.7.0 The Apprenticeship environment

I could not find accommodation in time for the first apprenticeship, which was therefore organised at KRV. In this case, the maker was in a hurry to return to her home which required that the apprenticeship was suspended early.

I organised the next two apprenticeships at the domestic environment of the makers. I travelled daily to the village of the maker and returned in the evening to a guesthouse. By spending time with the women, they became more familiar with me and I was not treated as a stranger but accepted as part of their environment. This enabled me to collect further data such as songs, which the women would not sing with a stranger present.

2.8.0 Selection of the fabric

Selection of fabric for making *kediyun*:

Jamnaben Ahir: The maker visited the market to purchase the right kind of traditional fabric (see Section 3.3.0). As no appropriate fabric was found, I acquired a twill weave that was until recently used for making the *kediyun*. I had to compromise on the colour and use white, rather than off-white, due to limited availability of different fabrics. The maker was happy with the fabric. According to her, it handled well and was easy to stitch.

Jivaben Rabari: Locally available mill-made marking fabric was selected. The maker was not happy with the weight of the fabric, finding it too thin.

Bhaddiben and Puriben Rabari: According to an old example, fabric was commissioned to be made by a local weaver in a narrow width. Although the makers were satisfied with the width, they found the fabric was too hard for passing the sewing needle through it. Nonetheless, with their experience, they were able to stitch the *kediyun*. I was advised to use an alternative cloth. As a backup, I had brought a plain weave *khadi* fabric from Ahmedabad that I used to make the *kediyun*.

2.8.1 Selection of thread for stitching

I encouraged the makers to stitch the *kediyun* with what was available locally. I chose red-coloured thread for the *kediyun* I was stitching, in order to identify the stitch detail more easily. Red-coloured thread was also easier to record in video and stills.

2.9.0 Stitching of the *kediyun*

As the aim of the research was to learn the traditional process of making the *kediyun*, I encouraged the women to teach me how they would make a *kediyun* traditionally. Jamnaben was the only maker who still hand-stitched the *kediyun*. According to her, the *kediyun* of the Machhoya Ahir subgroup must have a *cheen* stitch. This stitch cannot be achieved on a sewing machine. She claimed that Machoiya Ahir men would only wear a *kediyun* that was hand-stitched.

Puriben Rabari knows how to operate a sewing machine. She told me that before the ban on embroidery, she had already begun to make the *kediyun* partly on the machine, partly by hand. She would stitch the bodice of the *kediyun* with the sleeves and side seam unstitched. Then she would stitch the remaining parts by hand and finish the hem of the *kediyun* on the sewing machine. The same system was followed by Jivaben (Ghai, 2013), although she took the bodice to the tailor to be made and then hand-stitched the remaining parts of the *kediyun*, including the hem. It is important to note that stitching was not done separately from embroidery. The Debriya Rabari women used stitches that may seem decorative, but have functional purposes. However, after the ban on embroidery the women had almost completely stopped making the *kediyun*. It could be hypothesised that the ban on embroidery subsequently discouraged the Debriya Rabari women to hand-stitch the *kediyun*. However to reach a determined conclusion, further research needs to be done directly on this.

During the apprenticeship, I suggested to Puriben not to use a sewing machine to make any part of the *kediyun* as I was interested to learn the traditional, handmade method. Hence, together Bhaddiben and Puriben hand stitched a *kediyun* for me, while I hand stitched one for Bhaddiben's son.

2.10.0 Material collected and analysis

Material collected during the field research was both physical and digital. The following table details the nature of data collected:

Physical data		Digital data	
			Approximately
<i>Kediyun</i> made by me.	2	Video recordings of interviews	200 videos (around 20 hours)
<i>Kediyun</i> made by the makers.	3	Video recordings of observations	450 (around 20 hours)
<i>Kediyun</i> acquired from tailors' shops.	2	Audio recordings	35 (around 3 hours)
<i>Kediyun</i> acquired from Rabari families.	2 + 1 unfinished	Photographs	6,000
<i>Kediyun</i> acquired from antique textile dealer (<i>acquired in 2007</i>)	2	Articles on research student writing blog	4
Field diary with notes of interviews, description of making processes, sketches and diagrams of the making processes.	2	Photos by Judy Frater of old Ahir <i>kediyun</i> (original source Santa Fe folk art museum) <i>only for reference purpose</i>	3
Old photographs from Pomal-photo studio in Shroff market, Bhuj.	2		
Paper pattern of <i>kediyun</i> on newspaper made by me	1 set		
Hand-woven plain weave cotton cloth (remaining from the <i>kediyun</i>)	5 metres		
Table 2: Material collected			

In order to analyse the compiled raw materials I made an artist book. The book helped me to write the findings chapter. Examples of pages from the book are presented (See appendix 3).

2.10.1 Presentation of the construction of the craft of *kediyun* making

As established in the literature review, a focus on the clothes (object) has tended to marginalise the craft of making clothes (process). In the findings chapter I will therefore *begin* with a description of the making process, which will then lead to the finished product, i.e. the completed *kediyun*. I will not present images and diagrams of the finished *kediyun*. However, I will depict how the *kediyun* is systematically constructed, step-by-step. In other words, I construct rather than de-construct the *kediyun*. I will describe the various parts of the *kediyun* as and when they are constructed. They will be presented, at the end of the process, in diagrams indicating the relevant parts of the *kediyun*. This is done to counter typical diagrams (of the available literature, example Shah and Banga 1992) which depict parts of the *kediyun* as completed articles. The order of these typical diagrams does usually not follow the making process.

As I was making my first hand-stitch garment I perceived myself as secondary to the women from whom I learnt, as they had spent years hand-making traditional garments. Hence, I have chosen to highlight the making as practiced by the women, over my own practice during the apprenticeship. However, my own practice of hand-stitching was an essential means to gain an understanding and experience the making.

2.11.0 Conclusion of Methodology

The chapter establishes and identifies the women working in domestic environment as traditional makers of the *kediyun*. My existing understanding of the Kutch people and work experience with the craft communities, gave me access to these makers. However, once the access was achieved, I had to be flexible to plan the apprenticeship around the schedule of the women.

The first apprenticeship, in which I could not make a *kediyun* myself, prepared me for the next two. After the first apprenticeship, I understood that the making of the *kediyun* was situated in its cultural context and that I could not make the *kediyun* if I separated the maker from her cultural environment. I also started to understand the processes involved in the making of the *kediyun* which enabled me to plan how I could record the makers. While photographing the stitching, I realised that if the thread was a different colour from the cloth, it could be recorded more clearly. Furthermore, it also made the movement of the needle and thread more explicit. With a colourful thread the stitched *kediyun* seems to highlight the making process and makes it evident how hand-stitching is like handwriting: each individual displaying his/her own marks.

During the apprenticeship under Bhaddiben, I understood the social aspect of the making process. Two women could together remember what one had forgotten. During the apprenticeships, the intention was not simply to copy what the women did but to understand the process. Hence, the decision of using a red thread and making miniature patterns (see Findings Chapter) was considered appropriate.

Video recordings were helpful to reflect and revisit the construction of the *kediyun*. It was challenging to multi-task the roles of researcher (takings notes photographing, recording videos) and apprentice (stitching the *kediyun*). However, the method of apprenticeship allowed me to sit next to the women and live in their social, cultural and geographical environment. The experience helped me to understand how the craft of making the *kediyun* was an extension of the culture and therefore rooted in the social lives of the women.

Chapter 3

FINDINGS (Construction of the *kediyun*)

3.0.0 Introduction to findings

Having experienced the making of the *kediyun* through the apprenticeship approach, one of my key findings was that the non-physical, i.e. cultural and personal, elements were equally important in the construction of the *kediyun*. I discovered that a number of religious and cultural aspects informed the making of the *kediyun*. A part of the *kediyun* needed to be stitched before the sun set. Hand-stitching was not supposed to be practiced on certain days in honour of the Goddess, 'Shitala mata'. Various subgroups had their distinct style of constructing the *kediyun*. The craft was practised traditionally for family members. Thus, the craft of making the *kediyun* was an inseparable part of the culture.

This chapter will begin by illustrating the technique of making the *kediyun* as understood from my three apprenticeships with four individuals: Jivaben, Jamanaben, Bhaddiben and Puriben. The section will be followed by my analysis and reflection on the technique of making *kediyun*. I will then briefly discuss why the one of the apprenticeship, unlike the other two, did not progress to the making of a *kediyun*. This will lead to further examples that describe depict how social elements rooted in the culture impact the construction of the *kediyun*. Building on the theory of Marchand (2010) and based on the experience I gained in my own apprenticeships, I will then describe 'the making of knowledge' and finally introduce the makers (in section 3.16.0).

I have chosen to order the material in this way to reflect the cultural belief of the four makers that community identity precedes individual identity. Hence, I will begin to look at the craft of *kediyun* making and then continue to introduce the individual makers and my relation with them. Frater (1995) also describes the notion of community identity preceding the individual, in the context of the Rabari of Kutch.

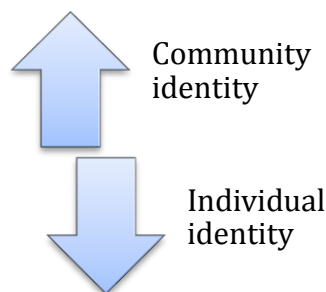


Figure 3.1: The diagram shows the belief of community identity preceding individual identity.

However, as previously suggested, publications usually emphasise traditional clothes and their wearers whilst ignoring the making process. Hence, I will begin with the description of the making process that leads to the finished product.

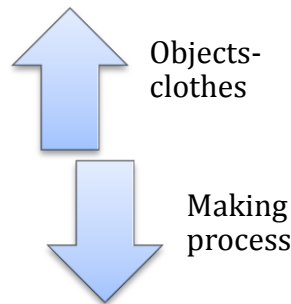


Figure 3.2: The diagram depicts the prominence of finished products and their wearers over making processes.

3.1.0 The craft of making the *kediyun*

This section will look at the craft of making the *kediyun* as understood from Jamnaben during of the first apprenticeship and from Bhaddiben and Puriben during the second. Each stage of the making process will be described using the information gained through the apprenticeship under Bhaddiben and Puriben Rabari. The apprenticeship under Jamnaben will be used as a comparison at selected stages.

The stage of attaching the ‘chaar’³⁰ of the *kediyun* to the ‘bodice’ will be illustrated by two additional examples, one of them from observing Jivaben Rabari. I also present an example that I recorded on my visit to Vagad, where I requested Deviben Rabari to stitch a small sample for me. This will be done in order to explore an answer to the question raised in the literature review regarding ‘individual creativity’ in a traditional craft community.

3.2.0 Unit of measurements

As established in the literature review, little has been written about the processes of making traditional clothes. For example, there is hardly any literature detailing traditional units of measurement used by the Ahir and Rabari, except for a passing mention in Edwards (2011). Moreover, the publication shows the diagram of the *kediyun* with measurements in centimetres sidelining traditional measurements (see Edwards, 2011). During my apprenticeships, I found that the traditional unit of measurement used by the women of the Ahir and Rabari community in the Kutch region is based on body parts. Both Bhaddiben and Puriben measured cloth with this system.

³⁰ In order to avoid the use of inappropriate labels for parts of the *kediyun*, the term ‘Chaar’ will be used here and explained later.

<u>Unit</u>		<u>Scale</u>
1. <i>Unglee</i>	↔	Finger width
2. <i>Tasu</i>	↔	Handspan
3. <i>Val</i>	↔	Shoulder to thumb with outstretched arm

Figure 3.2: The lists of measuring units



Figure 3.3: Chaar unglee (four fingers)



Figure 3.4: Aath unglee (eight fingers)



Figure 3.5: Ek tasu (one handspan)



Figure 3.6: Ek tasu ane tran unglee (one handspan and three fingers)



Figure 3.7: Ek tasu ane chaar unglee (one handspan and four fingers)
Note the wooden stick in the photo is not for measuring it happened to be around, so Bhaddiben picked it indicate where she started to measure.



Figure 3.8: Ek tasu ane saat unglee (one handspan and seven fingers)



*Figure 3.9: Val (Shoulder to thumb with outstretched arm)
Although Jamnaben verbally described it as an arm length, when she measured it was up to her thumb.*



Figure 3.10: One metre (Distance from nose to thumb with outstretched arm)

3.2.1 Changes to traditional measurements

Measuring in metres: It is often assumed that tradition means non-changing (Weibust, 1989), but anthropologists have argued for a long time (Hallam and Ingold, 2007) that traditions do change for a variety of reasons. According to Jamnaben, when mill cloth started to become popular in the local market of Kutch, almost forty years ago, she came across a new unit of measurement. Initially she was confused like many other women in her village. Eventually the 'metre' was accepted within the traditional measurement system. However, how this happened she was not sure.

According to Jamnaben, a metre length is derived by stretching the fabric from the nose to the thumb (see *Figure 3.10*)

The acceptance of the 'metre' within the traditional system of measurement is an example how tradition is not static, but keeps evolving.

3.3.0 The properties of fabric

Along with Jamnaben, I visited the principal markets in the towns of Bhuj and Anjar in search for an appropriate fabric to make the *kediyun*. However, as no cloth was found that completely satisfied the traditional parameters of weight, weave structure, colour and width, a compromise on colour was made. Instead of off-white, a twill weave fabric of white colour was acquired. According to Jamnaben, the width of the fabric we purchased was too wide and she had to consider how to cut it, as she was used to cutting from a narrower cloth.

Burnham (1973) advocates that for the study and reproduction of traditional garments, it is important to utilise the proper width of cloth. Considering this, I commissioned a local handloom weaver, Shamji Vishram Vankar, to weave a fabric with a smaller width, based on an example³¹ provided by Jamnaben.

However, later, while stitching on the commissioned cloth, Bhaddiben and Puriben complained of the fabric being too 'hard' to pass the sewing needle through. In technical terms the weave was too tight. I was thus advised to use a different cloth for stitching the *kediyun*. I used a *Khadi* fabric that I had purchased earlier from a shop in Ahmedabad, as a backup measure.

3.4.0 Measuring the body

To make the *kediyun*, Bhaddiben measured the wearer (her son) by stretching the fabric against his body. The fabric was creased to mark the measurements.

Jamnaben Ahir measured the wearer (her husband) using her hands only. Using traditional units of measurement, she first calculated the dimensions on the body and then transferred these to the cloth. Both makers commenced taking the measurements on the wearer's back.

³¹ The sample was crossed checked with Bhaddiben under whom I was to apprentice next.

Notches were made by slashing the fabric with scissors. Later the fabric was cut into regular pieces of cloth.



Figure 3.11: Bhaddiben stretching the selvedge of the fabric to measure the centre back of her son Lakhabhai.



Figure 3.12: Bhaddiben stretching the selvedge of the fabric to measure the sleeve length.



Figure 3.13: Bhaddiben stretching the selvedge of the fabric to measure the sleeve length starting from the back's centre of the neck (Figure 3.13) to about a handspan beyond the fingertips.



Figure 3.14: Jamnaben measuring the back of her husband by her using her hands directly.

3.5.0 Fabric layout for cutting the pattern of the *kediyun*

Bhaddiben and Puriben described a systematic approach³² of cutting the pattern of the *kediyun* (see Figure 3.15).

Note: The arrow (↑) indicates the grain of the fabric. All parts were first cut as rectangular pieces. These were then reshaped at the stage of stitching if required.

Four key measurements were taken by Bhaddiben to cut the cloth:

1. Measuring the centre-back from (back) mid-neck to the waist point.
Shoulders measured for width.
This cut into a rectangular to form the back bodice. (↑)
2. The length for the back bodice was duplicated to cut the front bodice.
Making use of the entire width of the fabric a rectangular piece was cut.
This piece was further divided and cut in half to achieve the left and right front bodice. (↑)
3. Sleeves were cut by measuring the fabric's width against the (back) mid-neck up to the wrist. The measurement was duplicated to cut two pieces of cloth for the sleeves pattern. (↔)

Following are the remaining parts, which were cut without measuring the body. On asking how they guessed the measurements, the women said '*khabar-hoe*' (we just 'know it' by visual judgement).

4. Front *kachali*³³ X 2 (↑)
5. Back *kachali* X 2 (↑)
6. Double layered pocket (↔)
7. Single layered pocket (↔)
8. 'Chaar' X 6 (↑)
9. Sleeves joint The sleeves usually do not have a joint, however if the fabric is deficient then a joint may be given.)
10. *Patit*³⁴ (used as facing attached to the waist)
11. Tie-ups
12. Patti (used as facing for the front bodice)
13. Collar

³² The women did not know how this exact manner came into practice, but confirmed that they had learnt it from the previous generation, such as their mothers or aunts. According to the two makers, even in the previous generation not every woman could cut the cloth as this required calculation. Jivaben and Jamanben also took pride in the fact that they knew how to cut the cloth, as this was a complex skill according to them.

³³ Panels attached to the sleeves (similar to a gusset).

³⁴ A long rectangular piece of cloth.

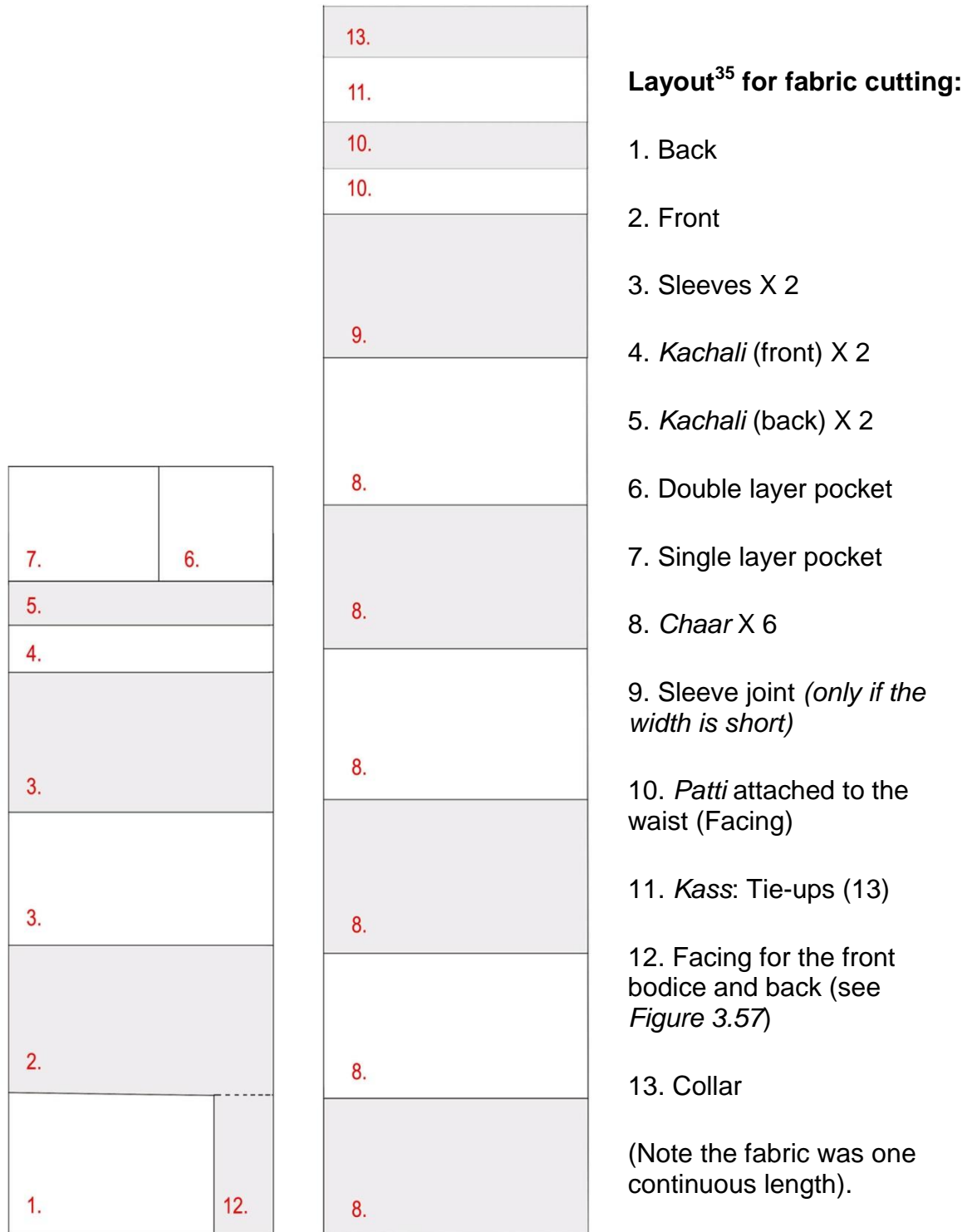


Figure 3.15: Layout for cutting the fabric with a width of 23 inches (by 6 meters), as per traditional measure of the handloom fabric woven in Kutch. (Scale 1: 14).

³⁵ The cutting layout illustrated is as understood from Puriben and Bhaddiben Rabari. Note that, in practice the women do not draw the layout. The cutting calculations are retained as a memory. However, for the purpose of analysing the cutting I have made the diagram. The sequence of cutting the blocks in the layout is not strictly followed by all the women. Each woman would have her own individual approach.

3.6.0 Cutting the fabric

Based on the notches marked on one side of the selvedge (as described in the previous section), the fabric was folded by Bhaddiben and Puriben to mirror the marking on the other edge. The fabric was lifted at the two markings and held aloft while a pair of scissors was run along the line to cut the fabric in two.



Figure 3.16: Selvedges folded to mirror the markings.



Figure 3.17: Notches made on either side of the selvedge.

Unlike Bhaddiben and Puriben, Jamnaben did not separate the cutting and stitching into two stages. She cut the fabric and then stitched. Only after one piece was completed would she cut and stitch the next one. As I found it hard to follow

the speed and complexity of the cutting, I proposed to make a miniature pattern to understand this stage of the making process. Teaching me was not Jamnaben's usual working method, the process of which will be elaborated in the 'making knowledge' section.

3.7.0 The stitching of the *kediyun*

By this stage, Bhaddiben and Puriben had cut all the fabric into rectangular pieces and were ready to stitch, starting by attaching the front pieces to the back piece.

The back bodice block was folded symmetrically to identify the centre back. On the folded fabric (a pinch of fold was taken- see *Figure 3.18*), a running stitch was used to join the two layers. This line of running stitch was then used as a guide to attach the sleeves and 'chaar' (lower part of the *kediyun*).



Figure 3.18: Neckline being folded after shoulder attachment.

The two shoulders were stitched by a running stitch. To shape the neckline: Bhaddiben had visually cut a triangle from either centre front line of the two front blocks. However, Puriben stated that her style of cutting was different at this step. She had folded a triangular shape intake and did not cut it (as shown in *Figure 3.18*).

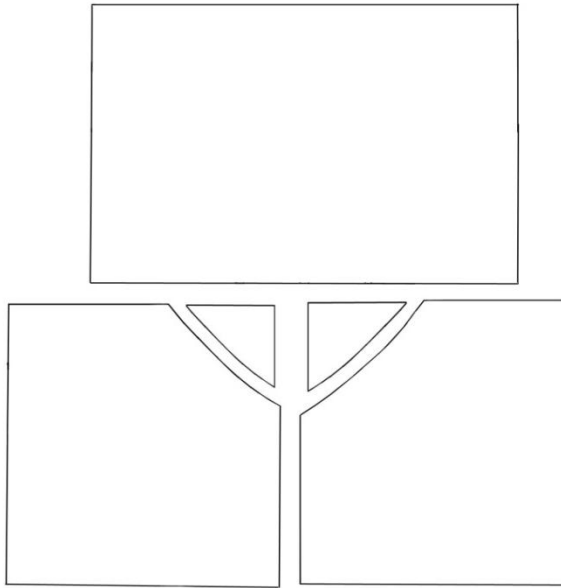


Figure 3.19: The back bodice and the two fronts.

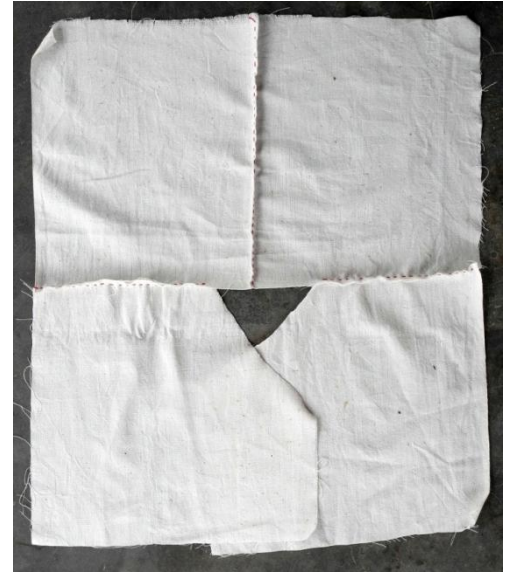


Figure 3.20: Shoulder joined with a running stitch.

Attaching the sleeves on to the bodice

The rectangular pieces of fabric for the sleeves were placed so they overlapped the front and back bodice. This means that half the sleeve sits on the front and half on the back. The centre was determined by folding the sleeves in half. A small rectangle piece was then cut out from each sleeve, ensuring that the sleeve does not overlap the neck (see *Figure 3.21*)

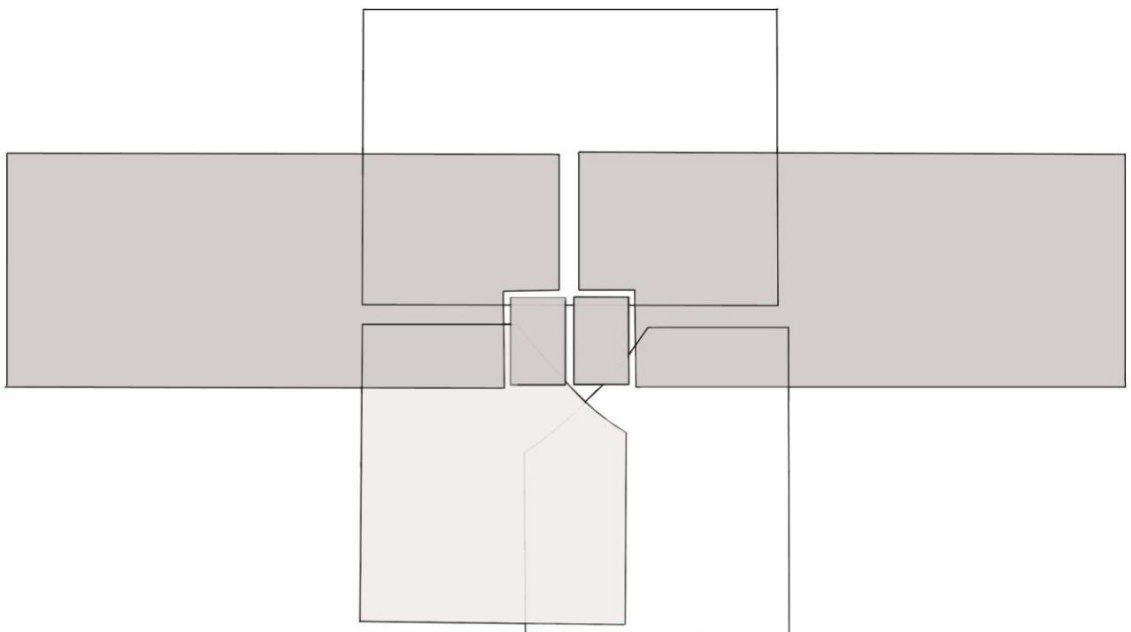


Figure: 3.21: A small rectangular piece cut from each sleeve.

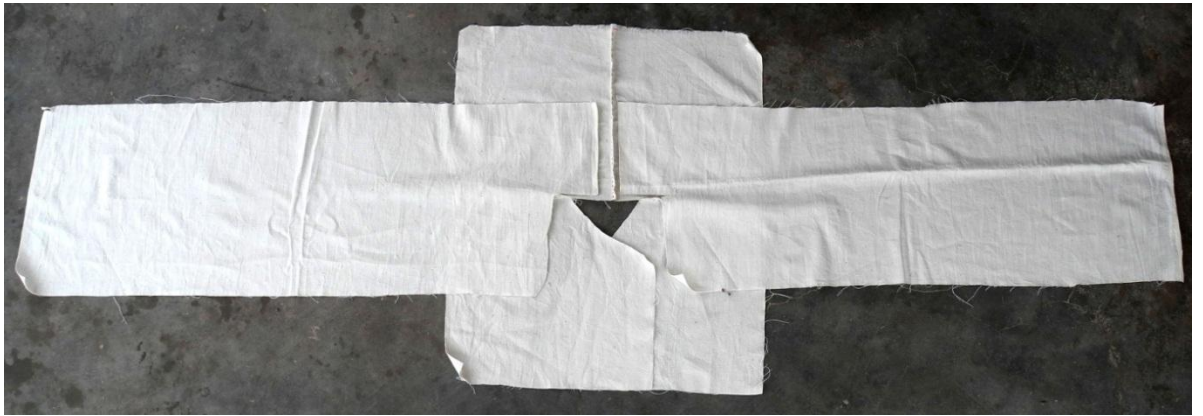


Figure 3.22: Symmetrical sleeve pattern shape.

Attaching the sleeves on the bodice

The *kachli* (small rectangular pieces of three-finger width by one handspan width) was attached to the top and bottom of the sleeves using a running stitch as depicted in Figure 3.23. The edge of the *kachli* was cut in a curve (see Figure 3.24). After this the entire panel (*kachli* attached to the sleeve) was tacked on to the front and back bodice (Figure: 3.25 and 3.26)



Figure: 3.23: *Kachli* attached to the sleeve

For tacking a long running stitch was used. The edges of the sleeve panel, where the sleeve overlapped the bodice, were folded using the (Puriben's) fingernail of her index finger, right hand. In this way, the minimum fabric the hand could fold was secured with its edge pressed and finished through a very small backstitch with almost a two thread (width) gap between each stitch. In this manner, the set of two *kachli* (see Figure3.26) were attached to the top and bottom edge of the sleeves with a running stitch. The size for the *kachli* was estimated visually.

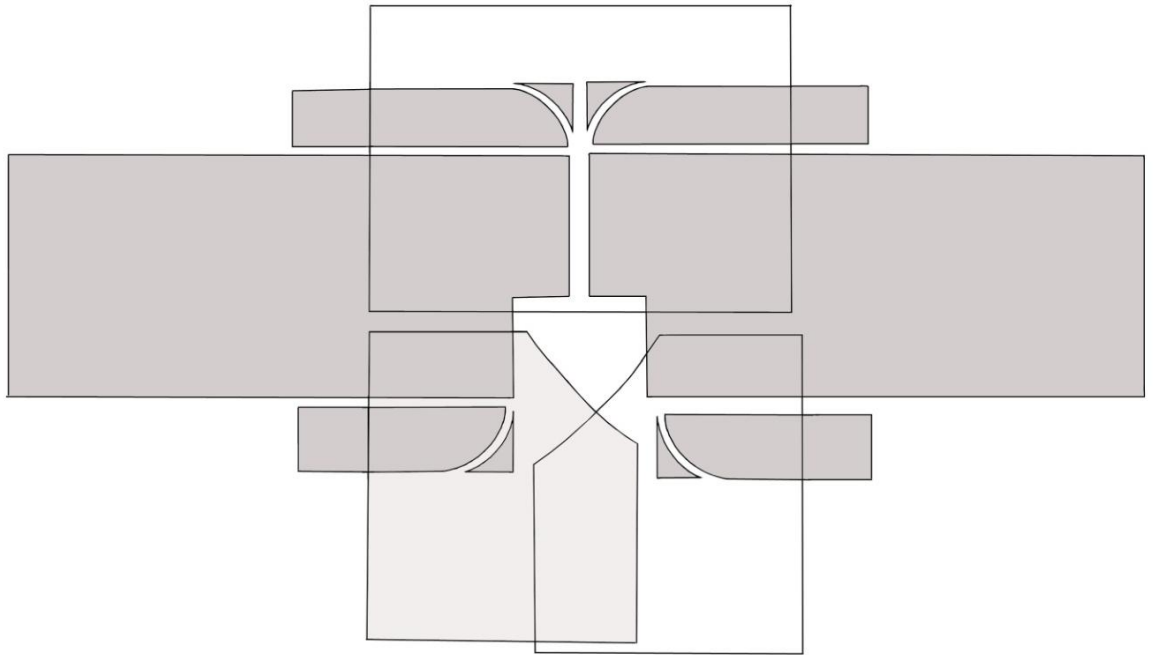


Figure 3.24: Kachli's edges shaped as shown in the diagram



Figure 3.25: Kachli being shaped by cutting the inside edges.

Note *Figure 3.26* depicts the neckline cut to shape (as practiced by Bhaddhiben) whereas *Figure 3.28* depicts the neckline folded (as practiced by Puriben).



Figure 3.26: Sleeve tacked on to bodice with a long running stitch.

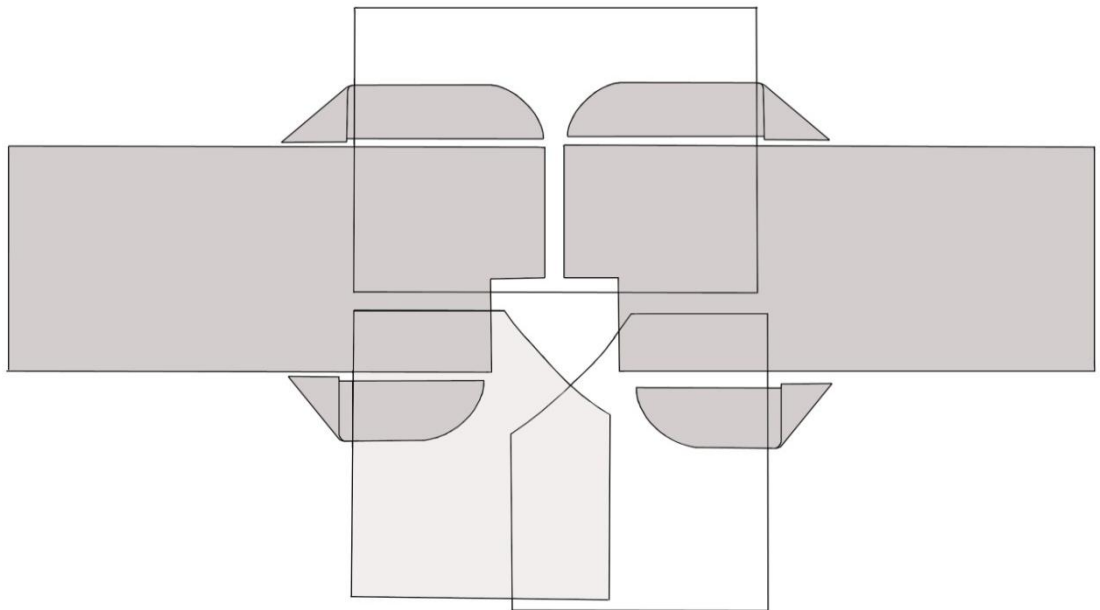


Figure 3.27: The end of the *kachali* folded to form triangular shape.



Figure 3.28: Sleeves tacked on to bodice with a long running stitch.



Figure 3.29: Sleeves attached with backstitch (inside of the bodice)

The excess fabric was turned diagonally, resulting in a triangle of two layers, as shown in *Figure 3.30* and *Figure 3.31*. The raw edge was stitched with a backstitch, sewn with the front side facing Puriben, thus stitching the sleeve panel to the bodice.



Figure 3.30: Raw edge



*Figure 3.31: Raw edges turned in
(Held by the reverse side of backstitch)*

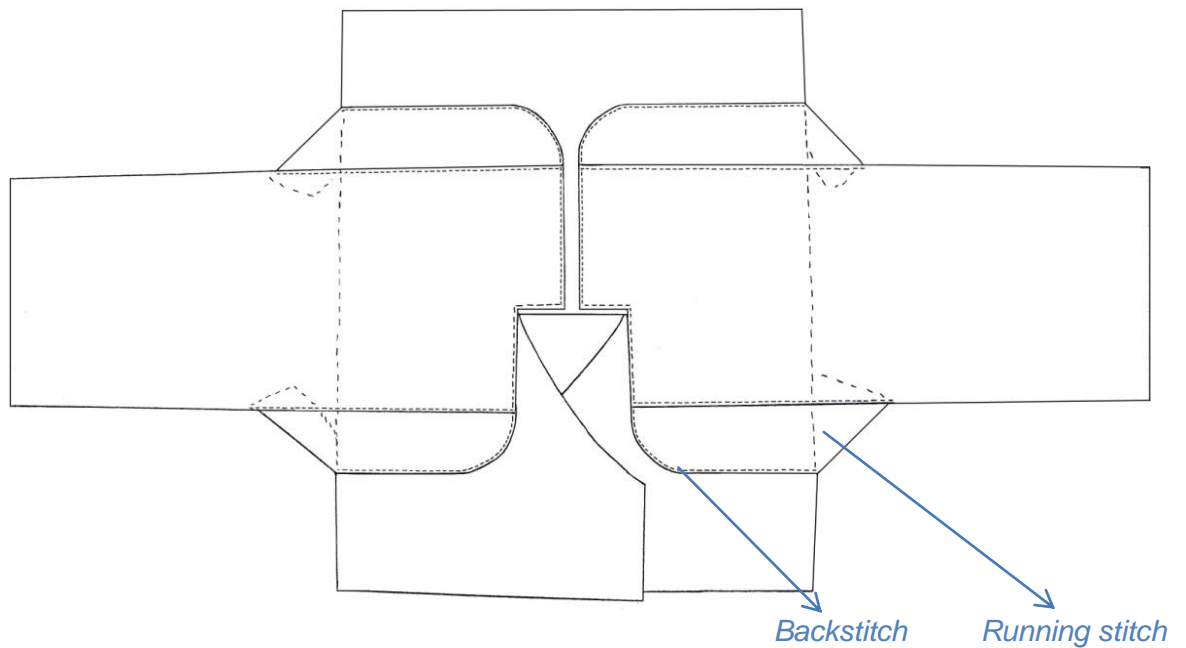


Figure 3.32: Edge of the *kachli* finished

The shoulder-*kachli* panels were attached to the bodice using a backstitch (See Figure 3.32). The edge of the bodice, where the sleeve-*kachli* panel overlaps the bodice, is folded in. A running stitch was used to finish the edges of the bodice (see Figure 3.32).

Attaching the collar

The *patti*³⁶ of almost eight fingers width was folded into a double layer and tacked to the neckline (see Figure: 3.33). The edges of the *patti* were folded in and it was backstitched to the neckline.

While attaching the collar, a piece of cloth (i.e. number 12 as indicated in Figure 3.15) was cut in the shape of the two front bodices and stitched along the collar resulting in a front bodice lining. (The finishing of this lining will be explained in the next section.)

³⁶ A rectangular piece of cloth cut from one width (see Figure 1.13), folded to make the collar.



Figure 3.33: Collar attachment: tacking the patti.

Sapping the front-bodice overlap

The centre front was cut in the shape shown in *Figure 3.38*. The raw edges of the two cloths, were folded in (see *Figure 3.34* and *Figure 3.35*) and tacked and finished using a backstitch. (*Figure 3.36*)



Figure 3.34: Opening the raw edges



Figure 3.35: Folding in the raw edges



Figure 3.36: Raw edges finished using backstitch



Figure 3.37: Folding in the raw edges

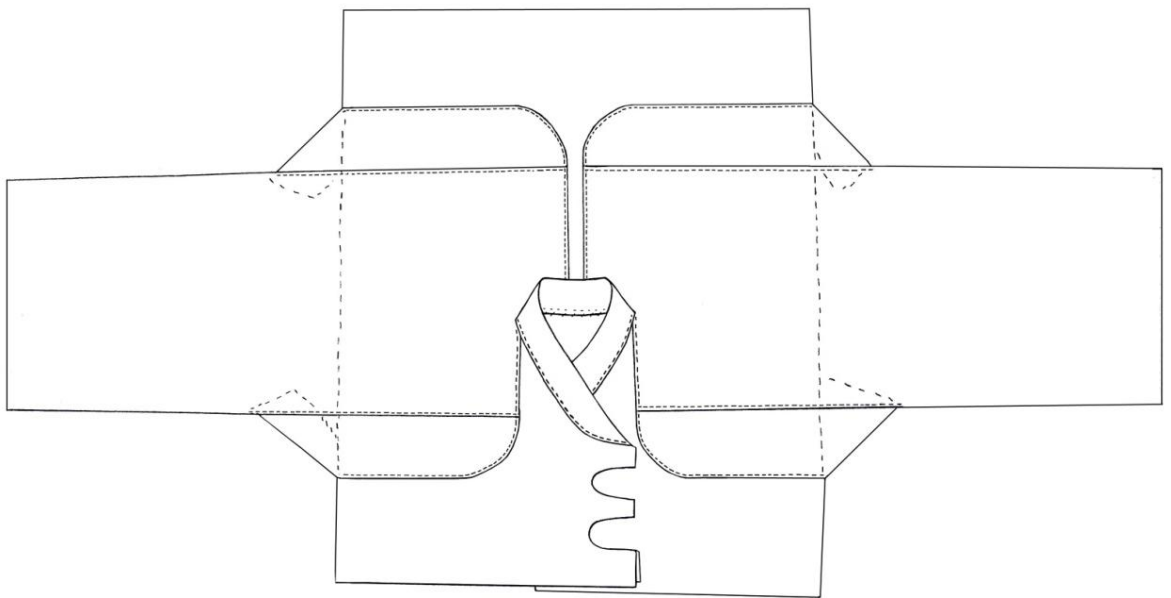


Figure 3.38: Collar attached and front bodice overlap shaped.

Joining the triangles together:



Figure 3.39: Stitching the edges of two triangles together. *Figure 3.40:* 'khelan'

The folded two edges of the triangles (*Figure 3.31*) were stitched next. The edge of the triangle of the front bodice and the triangle of the back bodice were stitched to each other using 'khelan' stitch (as described by the Rabari women). The stitch is described by Morrell (2007,), as a variation of Cretan stitch, also named Insertion stitch. It is used to hold two pieces of fabric together.



Figure 3.41: Front bodice finished inside-out.



Figure 3.42: Sleeves being joined.



Figure 3.43: *Chaar* with finished hem.

Stitching the sleeve:

The sleeve was joined with a running stitch to form a lap-seam, as a result (when the sleeve was folded up) the finished edge was visible. The edge of the sleeve was finished by hemming, using a slipstitch.

In the *Ahir kediyaun*, Jamnaben made use of the selvedge as the hem of the sleeves.

The *chaar*

According to the makers, *chaar* is the most important part of the *kediyun*. On inquiring how to differentiate the different subgroups of *kediyun*, I was told ‘through the length of the *chaar*’.

First, six widths of fabric were cut (*Figure 3.15*). Then each of the widths was joined to another by forming a seam using a running stitch at the selvedge of the two widths. In this manner, all six widths were stitched together to form one piece of cloth. The (bottom) hem was finished with a slipstitch. After leaving one *tasu* (a handspan’s length) and four fingers, Bhaddiben gathered the raw edge hem of the *chaar* (see *3.44*). A running stitch (to a needle’s length, as much cloth the needle could feed in one go) was made on the cloth, the stitch was then pulled resulting gathers. A running stitch, which gathers a needle’s length of pleated cloth, is made. The thread is pulled through, and the running stitch procedure repeated, until the desired width of the cloth is gathered.

Once the *chaar* was gathered, it was stitched to the edge of the bodice with a running stitch, leaving a six-finger space unstitched as an open space to insert a pocket (see *Figure 3.45*). Finally, the waist was finished with a facing hemmed with a slipstitch. The back was also finished with rectangular patches, stitched from the inside. (The grey colour in *Figure 3.57* denotes the facings.)



Figure 3.43: Gathering the hem of the chaar.



Figure 3.44: Gathering completed: *chaar* ready to be stitched to the bodice.



Figure 3.45: Front with *chaar* attached, space for pocket insertion was left unstitched.



Figure 3.46: Back of the *kediya* with *chaar* attached.



Figure 3.47: The inside finished with facings hemmed.

Attaching the pockets

On the right front that overlaps, a pocket bag was inserted. On the left front, a pocket was attached by slip hemming, utilising the selvedge as a finished edge.



Figure 3.48: Pocket attachment.

Making the *kas* (ties)

For the making of the *kas* (translated in English: to tie/ tighten), rectangular strips of three fingers width were cut from the fabric.



Figure 3.49: Cutting strips of fabric to make tie-ups.

The fabric was folded in and the edges hemmed (See *Figure 3.49*).

A total of thirteen ties, each with a length of one handspan, were attached to *kediyun*. The edges of the strings were embellished by wrapping them in coloured threads (see *Figure 3.52* and *3.53*).



Figure 3.50: Strip rolled over and held by the big toe.



*Figure 3.51: Tie-ups of the *kediyun* stitched by folding the fabric.*



Figure 3.52: A row of coloured threads were wrapped around the *kediya* tie-ups.



Figure 3.53: The *kas* embellished with coloured threads (a feature specific to Debriya Rabari).

3.8.0 *Kediyun*, the complete attire

Whenever I requested an elder Rabari or Ahir man to pose for photograph in their *kediyun*, I was told that the *kediyun* is not in itself a complete attire. It is essential to combine it with a traditional lower garment and a turban.

Underneath the *kediyun* the Rabari wear a wrapped piece of cloth, *dhoti*. Dhoti has makeshift pleats for the air to pass. The dhoti is folded up by Rabari men when walking through the marshlands in Kutch. The Rabaris, traditionally the caretakers of camels, are more mobile than the Ahir community, who have been associated with farming. The Ahirs wear a stitched, bifurcated lower garment known as *chaine*. It has arrows at the ankle. The waist of the garment is almost three times the actual waist size, trapping air and providing for ease of movement.

In Kutch, like most other parts of India, it is a common practice to sit on the floor. It was observed that even the longest *kediyun* worn by Kachhi Rabaris reaches just to the floor while sitting.



Figure 3.54: Lakhabahi Rabari in the *Kediyun* (Front)



Figure 3.55: Lakhabahi Rabari in the *kediyun* (Back)

3.9.0 Front and back: depicting the various parts of a Debriya Rabari *kediyun*

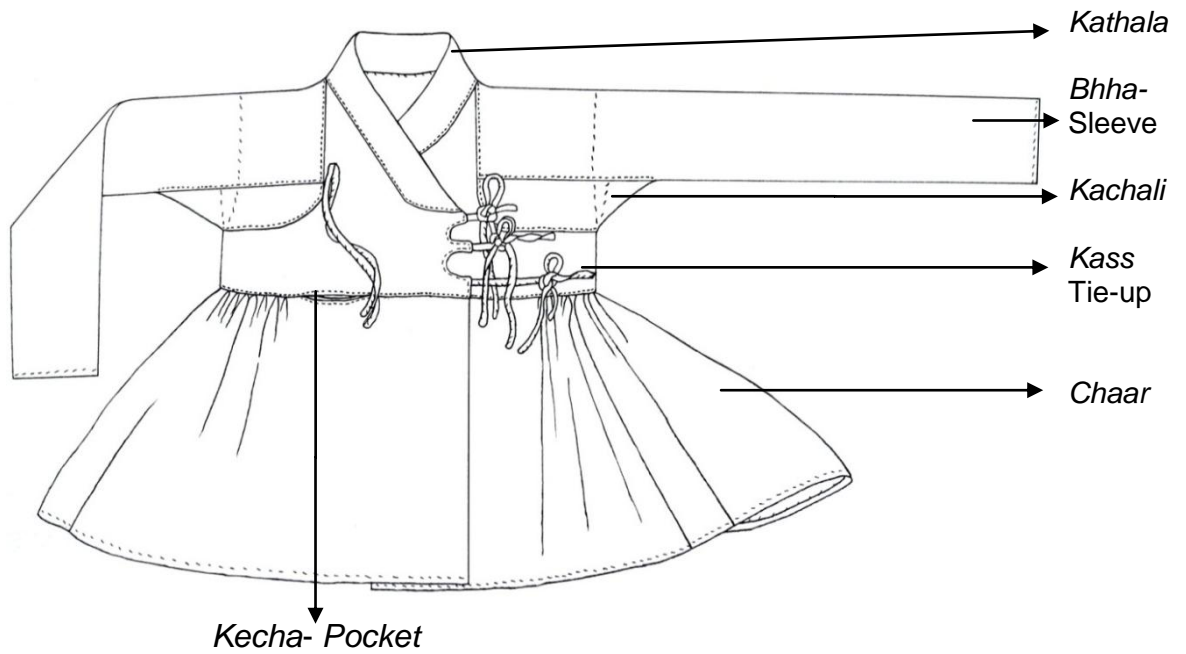


Figure 3.56: *Kediyun* front

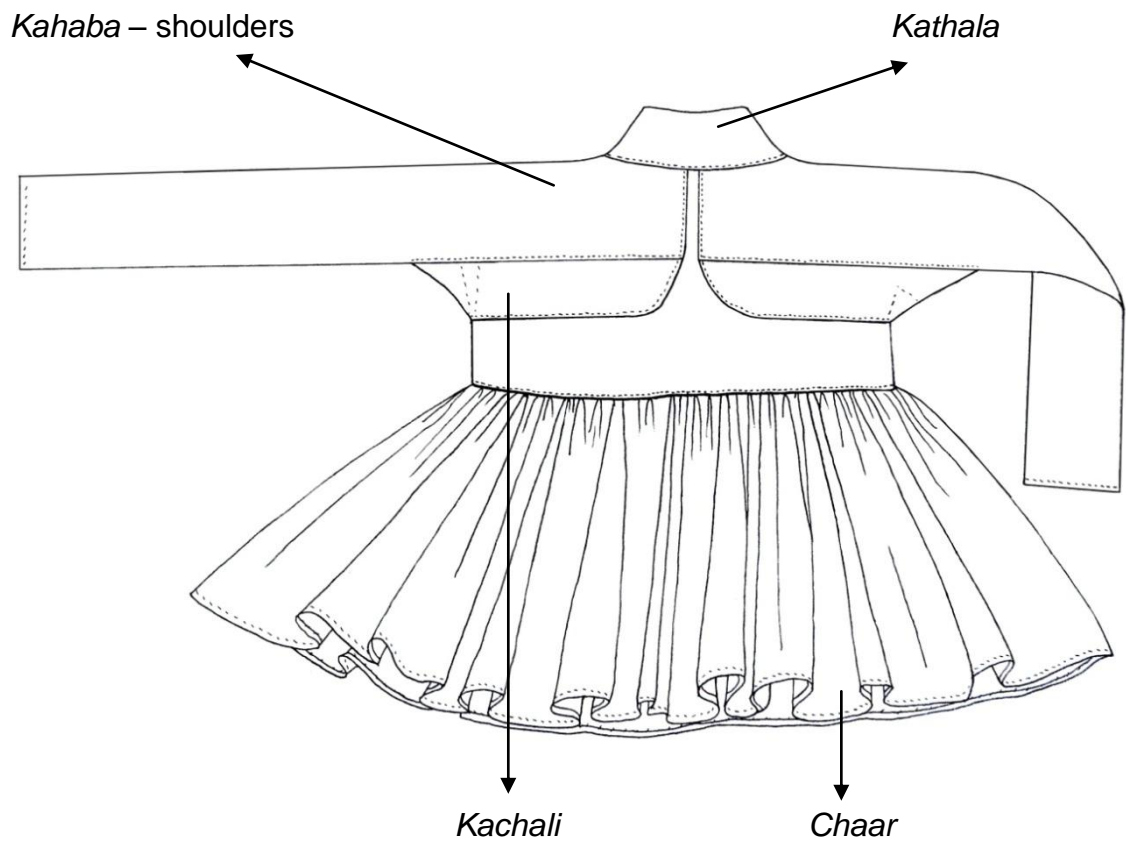


Figure 3.57: *Kediyun* back

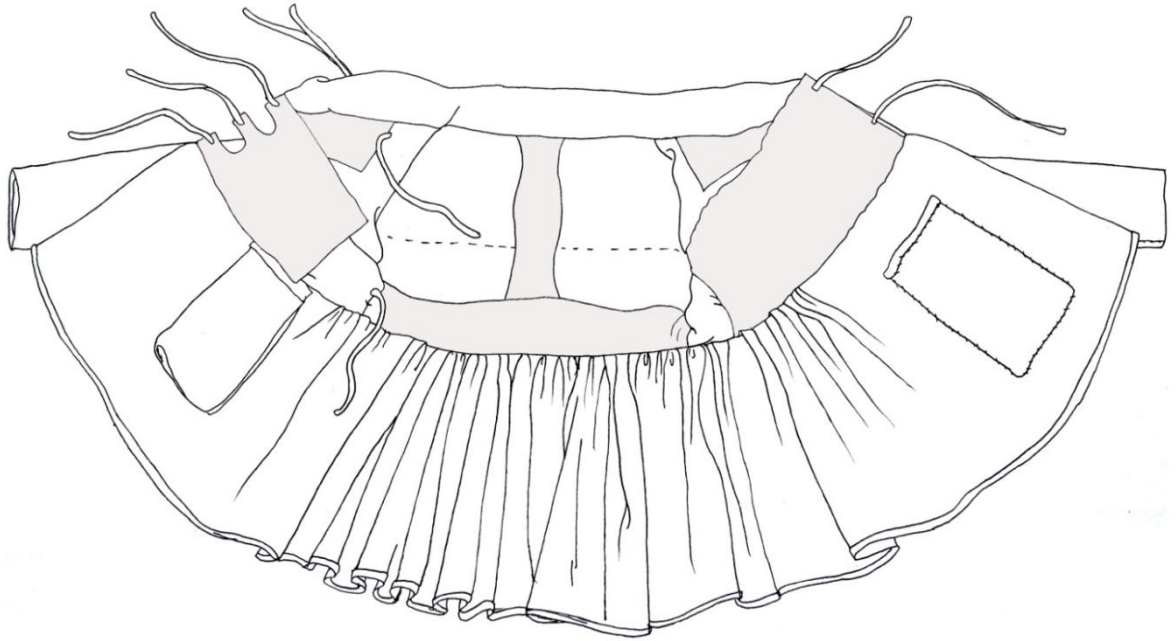


Figure 3.57: The *kediye*: The grey part depicts the lining. The inside is completed.

3.10.0 The stitched *kediye* as a result of the apprenticeship



Figure 3.58: Lakhabahi Rabari tying the *kas* of the *kediye*.



Figure 3.59: Front bodice of the Rabari *kediyaun* (made by the author)



Figure 3.60: *Kachali* detail of the Rabari *kediyaun* (made by the author)



Figure 3.61: Ahir kediya front

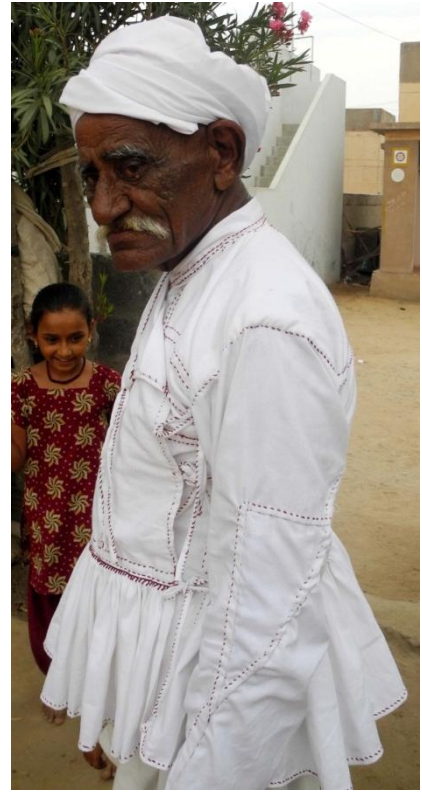


Figure 3.62: Ahir kediya side detail



Figure 3.63: Ahir kediya stitched by the author, back detail



Figure 3.64: Jamnaben Ahir with her husband wearing the *kediyun* stitched by the author.



Figure 3.65: Front bodice of the Ahir kediyun (made by the author)



*Figure 3.66: Pocket detail
(Made by the author)*



Figure 3.67: Hem detail



Figure 3.68: Sleeve detail of the Ahir kedyun (made by the author)



Figure 3.69: Front detail

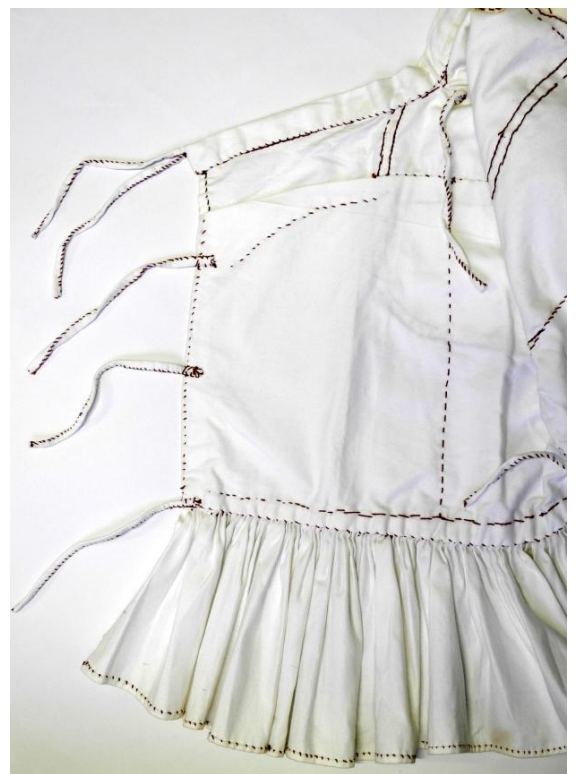


Figure 3.70: Inner pocket detail

3.11.0 Reflection on the technique of *kediyun* making

The making of the *kediyun* was like a performance in a domestic environment. It was enacted by the body and synchronised with the mind. Layers of individual and social aspects were embedded in the domestically practiced craft of *kediyun* making. In this section, I will describe aspects of this mind and body performance as they related to the technique of making (Marchand, 2010).

Through my apprenticeship, it became clear that the makers had incorporated their body into the technique of making the garment. The skill of making the *kediyun* is tacit knowledge, passed on from one generation of women to another. However, I observed that the making process was also individual due to the varying finger widths, handspans and arm lengths that were employed. The makers had developed a personal approach to measuring and working with their own bodies. The hand was not only used for the purpose of stitching but also as a measure for the cloth and wearer (as detailed earlier). The foot was employed to hold the fabric, the big toe and the thigh for securing the thread and cloth. The palms performed the twisting of the thread to make a double-ply. Thus, each *kediyun* had a direct, personal relationship to the individual body of the maker.



Figure 3.71: The incorporated character of making the *kediyun* seen here in Jamnaben's use of her hands, arms and feet.



Figure 3.72: Thigh securing *chaar* of the *kediyaun*.



Figure 3.73: Big toe supporting the stitching.

The craft of making the *kediyaun* on the one hand binds a particular subgroup together and on the other, establishes and communicates the differing identities of various regional subgroups. For example, according to Jamnaben Ahir from the subgroup of Machhoya of the Ahir caste, the sewing needle is uniquely positioned in a diagonal direction, during the process of *cheen-bandhan*³⁷ (see appendix 4) which is the feather stitch that links the 'chaar' to the bodice.

The stitching of the *kediyaun* can also be read as a form of personal expression because hand-stitching has its own recognisable and idiosyncratic form. Indeed Millar (2012) describes hand-stitching as a form of handwriting. Frater (1995) describes the hand-embroidery of various subgroups of women in Kutch as dialects of a language. Since the measurements depend on the size of the maker's features, this too, adds to the unique identity of the *kediyaun*. Together, hand measurements and stitching make each *kediyaun* a distinct part of an individual's creativity.

The making of the *kediyaun* depends on simple tools: thread, scissors and sewing needle. As the Rabari community has been nomadic in lifestyle, the making of the *kediyaun* was practised as and when required during the migration and demanded very little equipment.

While at home, the making of the *kediyaun* was worked out according to the domestic commitment of the women. The making would have to be fitted around everything else (household work).

The calculations involved in making the *kediyaun* can be described as a method shared socially. Yet the method is quite flexible as there is not just one strict way of cutting the pattern. It can be adapted according to the maker's experience. Similarly, the fitting and the dimensions have been refined by the experience of individual makers. Part of the maker's intelligence is that the pattern will be cut in a way that wastes almost no fabric. It can also be adapted according to the selvedge

³⁷ The process of *cheen-bandhan* was to be completed in one continuous go before sunset. According to Jamnaben and Deviben, if this was not possible, they would start again the following day. All women adhered to this rule, although they did not know its origin or purpose. The women told me that this practice was introduced to them when they had learnt the stitching of the *kediyaun*.

and width of the fabric. For certain parts of the *kediyun*, such as the '*chaar*', the fabric is cut against the off grain (i.e. it is cut in horizontal grain instead of vertical grain).

This section could be summarised through the following table, which depicts elements that constitute the individual and social aspects of *kediyun* making.

Social practice	Individual practice		
Tacit Knowledge— Learnt by observing and experience.	Personalised— According the individual body and intelligence of the maker.		
Communication/identity— Similarities of the group and distinction between groups.	Creativity of individual— Making and stitching.		
Mobility— A nomadic community which was historically on the move	Flexibility— Fitting the making into maker's individual schedule.		
Calculation— Basic calculation needed to make any <i>kediyun</i>	Calculation— Individual way of making, the measurement calculations.		
MAKER (Woman)		Relation Personal	WEARER (Man)

Table 3: Craft a social and individual practice

Personal reflection on my practice of making the *kediyun*:

To learn from the traditional makers of the *kediyun* enabled me to broaden my understanding of garment construction as a cultural activity and enhance the understanding of body and material. I learnt the technique to handle the cloth while stitching and measuring it. After several attempts, I could fold the cloth with a precision akin to the women's. The cloth was folded for pleating and the right tension of the stitch on each pleat was practiced. I perceived the measuring of cloth against the body as a fundamental difference to the use of a tape measure. When the cloth is measured directly against the body, the drape and the fall of the cloth are also accounted for.

The pattern of the *kediyun* is unusual compared to most of the stitched upper garments worn by men in Gujarat, such as the *kurta* or Shirt. The pocket in the Ahir *kediyun* is visible, an unusual feature. There is no armhole joint for the

sleeves; two layers of fabric at the shoulder provide a weight and sit well on the chest. A variety of stitches functioned specifically in the context in which they were applied. Two lines of back stitch (in the Ahir *kediyun*) on the edge of the *khaba* provide strength for the layers of cloth to be secured together. The stitch looks decorative at the same time. The fitting of the *kediyun* is tight at the chest and adjustable with drawstrings, in case a *bandi* (short sleeve, front opening upper garment for men, usually with a 'V' shape neckline) is worn underneath. The *chaar* is loose and functions as a ventilator. One of the sleeves of the Ahir *kediyun* is slightly longer than the other; however I could not determine the reason for this, as the maker said that it is merely how she had learnt it.

As this was the first (completely) hand-stitched garment that I made, I found the practice of hand-stitching challenging. It was difficult to maintain an even stitch length and I had to undo and redo certain stitches. However, after repetitive practice I began to enjoy hand-stitching. The making process seemed to enable me to bond with the makers as I was learning this new language, which only the women could have shared. The satisfaction to hand-make a complete *kediyun* made me realise the value of self-sufficiency, which the makers possessed.

I realised that, for the first time in my life, I made a garment that was not only about the skills of making, but had a rich history of its local culture and community attached to it. This understanding, if applied to design education may encourage more sustainable ways of learning and making that include local traditions.

3.12.0 Why could I not stitch a *kediyun* with Jivaben?

Jivaben complained that as she was making the *kediyun* for the first time in thirty years, it was hard for her to remember each stage. Although she managed to complete a *kediyun* with some alterations, she found she did not have the patience to teach me.

As I could not find a place to stay in Jivaben's village, Lodai, I arranged for the apprenticeship at KRV. Jivaben had been a student at the KRV, during a session taught by me in 2010. Thus, I assumed KRV would be a suitable location. However, Jivaben missed having other Rabari women around her as she worked and wanted to leave sooner than planned. Hence, I did not insist on her teaching me. Instead, I observed and photographed her, while she made a *kediyun*.

This experience helped me to realise the social importance of how the women practice their craft domestically. Hence, for the next two apprenticeships I travelled daily two hours each way to the villages of the makers. In my next apprenticeship, Bhaddiben too, could not recall the method of cutting of the *kediyun* pattern. However, she invited her friend Puriben Rabari and together the women taught me.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this experience. Firstly, the craft of making the *kediyun* is rooted in the social fabric. This will be elaborated in the next section. Secondly, nowadays very few women know or routinely practice the

stitching of the *kediyun*. Through informal interviews in over fifteen villages in Kutch, I found that only a few women knew the process of making the *kediyun*. All these women were over the age of fifty. This may indicate that new generations are not taking up the craft and we might speculate that as a result of this, it is a dying skill.

3.13.0 Social and cultural elements rooted in the construction methods used to make the *kediyun*

Traditionally the Rabari family men look after the cattle. The women take care of the children and the household work, such as cooking and stitching. The Ahir community men are traditionally associated with farming and the women with household work. All the makers under whom I was apprenticed, perceived the craft of making the *kediyun* as a domestic activity. They preferred working at their home. Men of their family worked outside the house. Bhaddiben's son runs a small shop. Jamnaben's husband works as a farmer and Jivaben's son works as a driver. These families strongly believe in their religious practice, for example not stitching on a certain day to honour the Goddesses. Most of the Rabari men still wear the *kediyun* on their wedding day, although this trend is also changing (Edwards, 2010). Most of the Rabari have now given up their nomadic life and have settled. However, they still have a high regard for the camel.

3.13.1 Social identity

As described earlier, there are certain ways of making a *kediyun* that are characteristic to each subgroup of makers. At times, there are subtle differences, such as the movement of a sewing needle. In case of the Vagadia Rabari, the movement of the needle for '*cheen-bandhan*' (see appendix 4) is in a horizontal direction whereas Machhoya Ahir women move it diagonally.

The table depicts the key features of the *chaar* of the *kediyun*:

(Maker) Subgroup	Height of the <i>chaar</i>	Width of the <i>chaara</i> (<i>approx.</i>)	Positioning of the gathers/ pleats in the front.	Gathering/ pleating the <i>chaar</i>
(Jamnaben) Machhoya Ahir	Between low hip and waist, the waist is lower than that of the <i>kediyun</i> made for the Rabari	Around 5 meters	Across the front overlap	' <i>cheen- bandhan</i> ',
(No maker found) Kachhi Rabari	Until low hip	More than the two Rabari subgroups	Similar to Debriya Rabari	No hand stitched example for analysis
(Bhaddhibe n) Debriya Rabari	Between low hip and waist	6 widths of cloth of 23'' width (around 3 ½ metres)	Front overlap kept plain for the pocket positioning	Gathering ³⁸
(Jivaben) Debriya Rabari	Between low hip and waist	6 widths of cloth of 23'' width (around 3 ½ metres)	Front overlap kept plain for the pocket positioning	Pleating
(Deviben ³⁹) Vagadia Rabari	Between low hip and waist	5 1/3 metres	Across the front overlap	' <i>cheen- bandhan</i> ',

Table 4: *Chaar*

See: accompanying DVD– Folder: STITCHING OF CHAAR

Files:

1. Jamnaben Ahir
2. Bhaddiben Rabari
3. Jivaben Rabari
4. Deviben Rabari

³⁸ Examples of Debriya Rabari *kediyun* with smocking were discovered during the field research. However the process of smocking was not studied during the apprenticeships as the makers, under whom I apprenticed, did not practice this.

Bhaddiben and Puriben (Debriya Rabari) had gathered the *chaar* by pulling a running stitch. Whereas Jivaben (Debriya Rabari) pleated the *chaar*. These could possibly have been different fashions of making the *chaar* and may have evolved with different kinds of fabric use. The *chaar* with smocking was made in mill-made twill fabric only found just before the ban of embroidery.

³⁹ Deviben Rabari was visited in Vagad.

3.13.2 Religious/cultural beliefs

In this section I will present two examples of religious and cultural beliefs that are involved in the construction of the *kediyun*.

During my apprenticeship, on 21 June 2013, when I reached Bhaddiben's home, I was told that no *kediyun* stitching could take place as a day's rest was observed in honour of 'Shitala mata'. *Shitala* in Sanskrit means smallpox and *mata* means mother. Ruth (1962, p265) states that she is "the most feared of the goddesses of sickness" in India. Hopkins (1988) describes her as the oldest of deities associated with smallpox possibly dating back as long as 2,000 to 3,000 years. She is believed to cause and clean the germs of the disease and to have the power to give coolness the patients. According to Bhaddiben and Puriben any activity that possibly involved forming a knot was strictly to be avoided on the day. Therefore, no combing of hair, no stitching or even cooking was done on the day. This practice was particularly observed by the women, as during the stitching the goddess could get knotted in the stitch and thus the child of the family could get smallpox⁴⁰.

In an informal interview on 26 June 2013 with Shivjibhai Maharaj, who belongs to a family of tailors, I asked about the difference between making a *kediyun* by hand and making it with a machine. He replied that "thoughts are stitched, while hand-stitching clothes" (Ghai, 2013) Maharaj believed that it was important to have good thoughts while hand-stitching, as these thoughts get stitched into the garment. Maharaj felt that this is possible with hand-stitching but not with a machine. He added that, although to make a living he has to work on a sewing machine as it is faster, he regards hand-sewing as being of higher status.

Jamnaben Ahir had similar ideas about stitching. Although she has a sewing machine at her home (a few years ago Jamnaben's disabled daughter had received it as an aid), Jamnaben has never wished to stitch the *kediyun* on a machine.

The above examples, of community beliefs of refraining from stitching on a specific day and linking good thoughts with the stitches being made, indicate the local belief in the spiritual side of *kediyun* construction.

3.14.0 Folk Songs 'a cultural' element that constitutes construction of the *kediyun*

During the field research, I chanced on Bhaddiben humming a line or two at times. I requested that she let me know if there were any songs related to the *kediyun*. Initially she told me there were none, perhaps as songs are only shared among the women. However, towards the end of my apprenticeship she (along with Puriben and their neighbour Hasuben Rabari, Mamuara village) sang songs for me. In the same way, that the styles of *kediyun* contained variations across

⁴⁰ Incidentally, I met an old Ahir man wearing a *kediyun* the following week in Anjar village. In conversation I learnt that the severe marks on his face were due to smallpox which prevented him from ever getting married.

various subgroups, folk songs had variations or differed. However, as I apprenticeship under Debriya Rabari women and an Ahir woman the folk songs recorded are specific to the two subgroups. (See appendix 5)

The chart depicts a thematic analysis of the folk songs that culturally contributed to the construction of the *kediyun*.

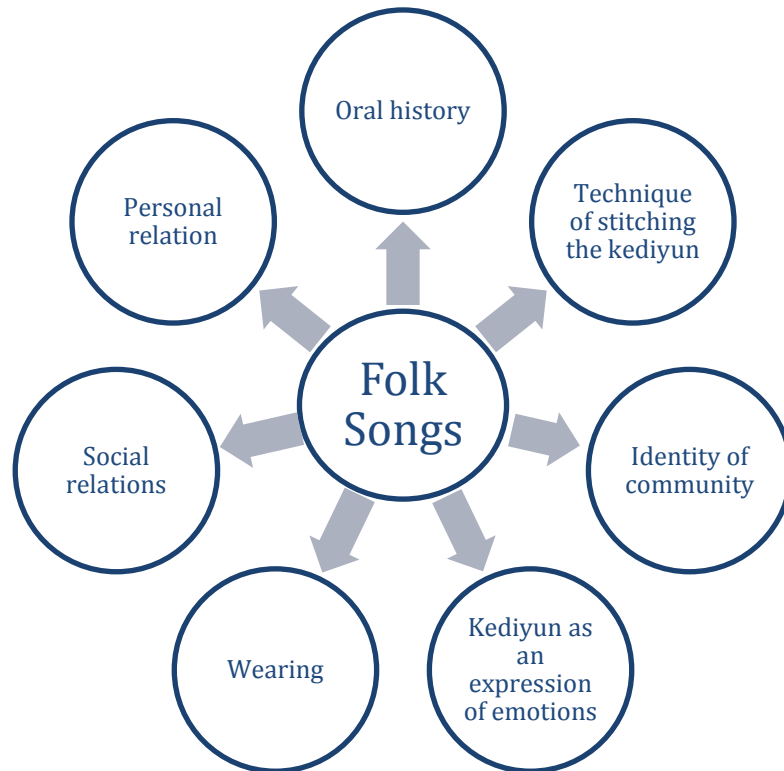


Figure 3.74: Folk songs themes

I recorded the following songs in the Kutchi language, sung by Jamnaben Ahir and her daughter Champuben Ahir. A tentative translation with help of Dayalal Atmaram Vankar is presented in English. The headlines indicate my categorisations of the songs.

Oral history

Let go of the chaar of my kediyun, else the kediyun would tear apart, the tie-up would break.

(Appendix 5.1)

The song is set at the time when God Krishna (who is believed to have lived until 3102 BC and is worshiped by Hindus) is ready to migrate from North India to West India (Kutch). His disciples do not want their Lord to abandon them, so they hold his *kediyun*. Krishna responds by saying, “Let go of the *chaar* of my *kediyun*, else the *kediyun* would tear apart, the tie-up would break.”

The song illustrates the significance of the *kediyun* in Machhoya Ahir culture and how the *kediyun* acts as an agent between the divine and his disciples (the Ahirs). It is important to state again that neither the Ahir nor the Rabaris have been engaged in much textual writing. Oral dissemination of their history has been important over centuries.

Technique of making the *kediyun*

One by one with the needle I stitched the mirror on the kediyun; in the mirror I saw the reflection of Lord Krishna's face. I hemmed the chaar of the kediyun, stitched the shoulder, and attached the tie-ups. For the 'cheen' I used red and yellow coloured thread. With a diagonal movement of the needle I stitched the kediyun.
(Appendix 5.1)

The song romanticises the relation of the disciple who is the maker of the *kediyun*. It details, in the maker's voice, how she has constructed the *kediyun*. It is notable that these details of *kediyun* making are specific to the Machhoya Ahir subgroup.

The first⁴¹ songs in the following series were recorded by me and sung by from Hasuben⁴² Mohan Rabari. The rest were sung by Bhaddiben Rabari. A tentative translation with help of Lakhabhai Rabari is presented in English.

The Kediyun as an expression of emotions

O Ram let me worship you... Let me wear the kediyun with backstitch.
(Appendix 5.2)

The song lists emotions a disciple wishes to express as part of his/her dedication to God. Wearing of the *kediyun* is one of these.

Social relations

*The groom's father doesn't know how to wear the kediyun
Bring the groom's grandfather's brother, he can teach him to wear it.*
(Appendix 5.3)

The style is of a Phatanu-a ritual insulting song, sung for in-laws at weddings.

In the song, the *kediyun* becomes an agent that introduces the two sides of the family. Marriage in Indian villages is seen as not just as a union between two

⁴¹ The second song was also recorded as sung by Bhaddiben and her friends, in a slightly different version from Hasuben's.

⁴² In addition, through the session that I taught at KRV, I also recorded songs sung by Hasuben Mohan Rabari, from Lodai village.

people but two families and by extension villages. The *kediyun* in the song implies a way to ease this union in a comic way amongst the stress of elaborate wedding ceremonies.

Communicating personal relationship

(Lokeshbhai) *While coming he got lost,
While coming he forgot the way...*
(Appendix 5.4)

During the last days of my apprenticeship Bhaddiben composed a song to honour my learning experience. The song was an unexpected and gratifying experience for me. It indirectly expresses a personal relationship that was formed by me and the Rabari maker of the *kediyun*.

In the next section, I will further elaborate on personal relationship that led to 'making knowledge'.

3.15.0 Making knowledge

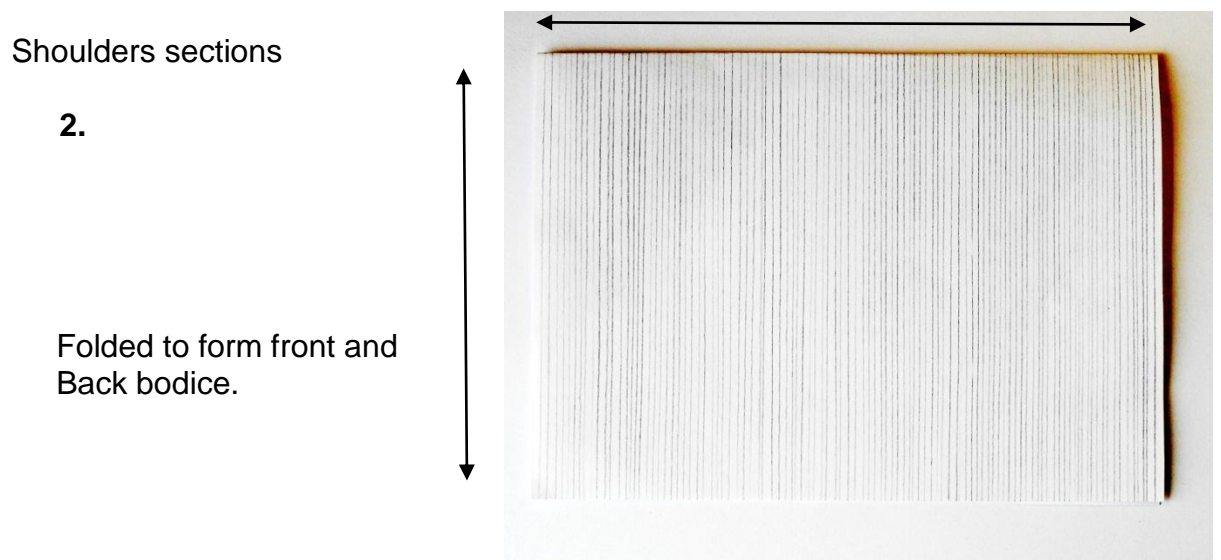
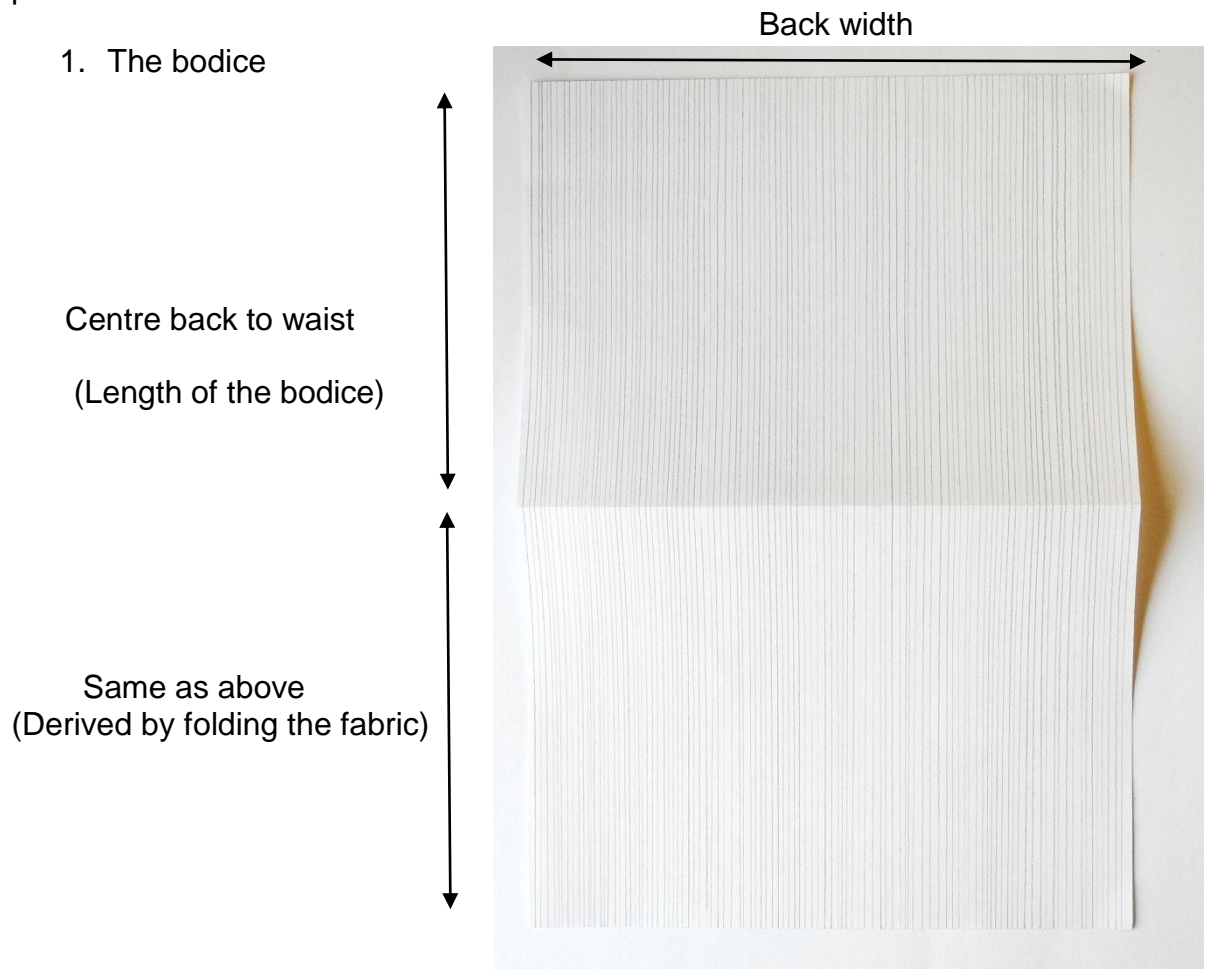
As I was learning how to make a *kediyun*, my teachers, who had never taught before (and had perhaps never imagined to teach a man), were learning how to teach. In these ambiguities was a sense of 'making knowledge'.

Marchand (2010, S2) states that, "there is a mutual recognition that knowledge-making is a dynamic process arising from the indissoluble relations that exist between minds, bodies, and environment."

I had the good fortune of working under Jamnaben, who is one of last makers of the *kediyun*, and who still practises the craft for her relatives and repairs old *kediyun* of her fellow villagers.

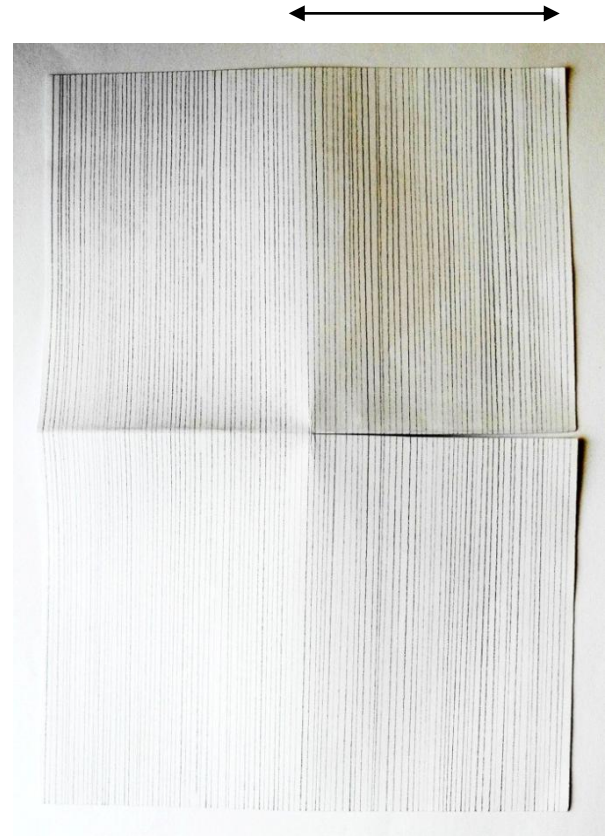
I struggled to understand the making of the *kediyun* on the first two days, trying to note the steps, and video-record Jamnaben in the making process. I asked Jamnaben to slow down, which did not help. Eventually, I suggested if Jamnaben could make miniature patterns, and I could copy those to learn how they were constructed. Jamnaben liked this idea and this eased a path to understand their making techniques.

The follow images are a reconstruction⁴³ of how I learnt to make a *kediyun* and how Jamnaben learnt to teach me. I made small-scale patterns to clarify the process.



⁴³ The lines on the miniature pattern shows: (i) The grain line (ii) Right side of the fabric.

3.
Slash the shoulder in half (right side)

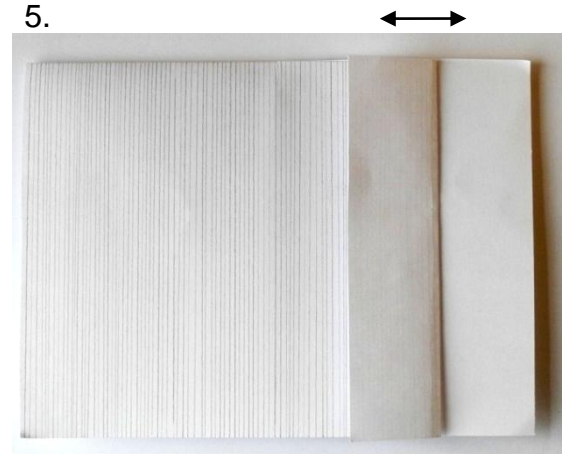


- 4.

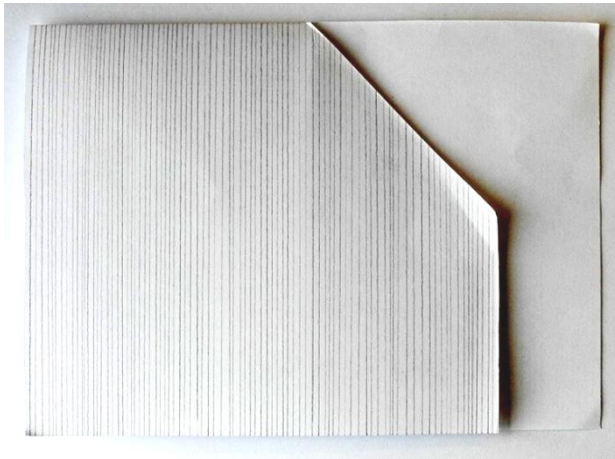


Front

- 5.



Fold a panel (one handspan)
Cut the panel out



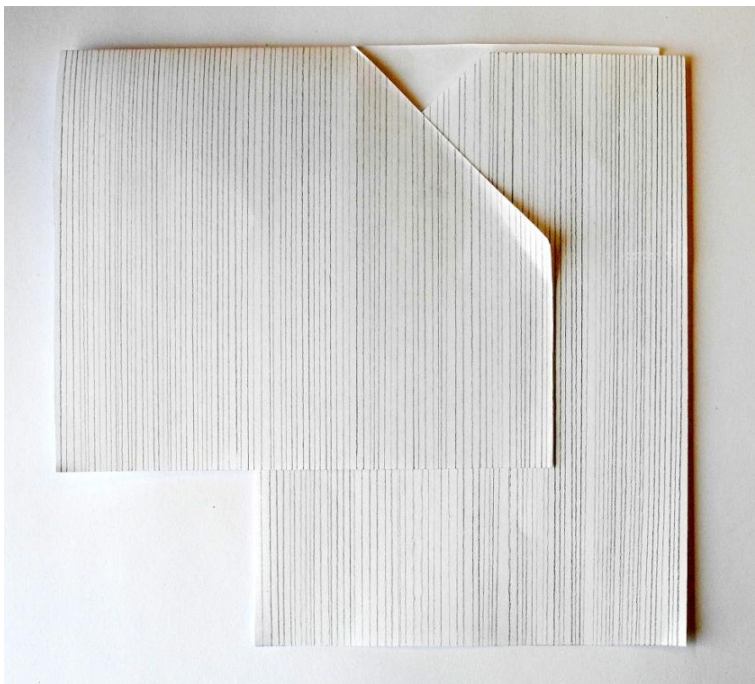
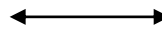
6. Cut out a triangle to form a neck line for the right front.



7.

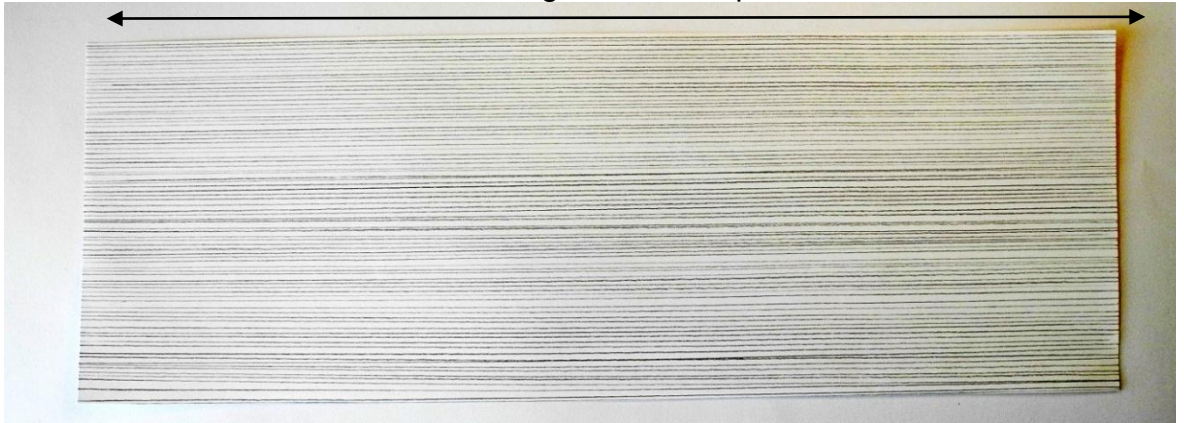
Cut another rectangle with width halfback and one handspan extra to the length of the front. Cut a triangle to mirror the shape of the neck.

Attach the left shoulder

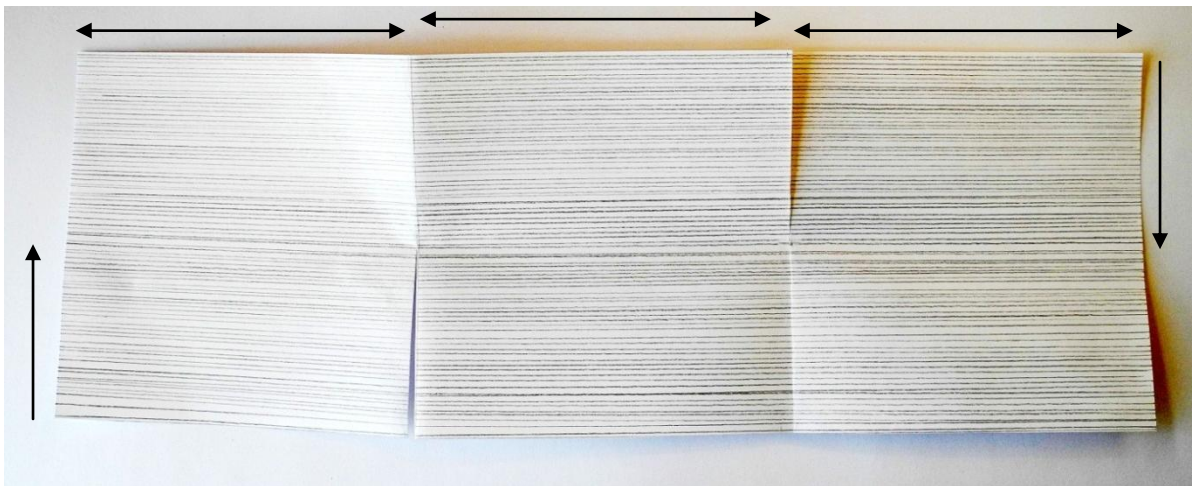


8. Match new block at the shoulder and attached the edge on the top.

Sleeve length + a handspan



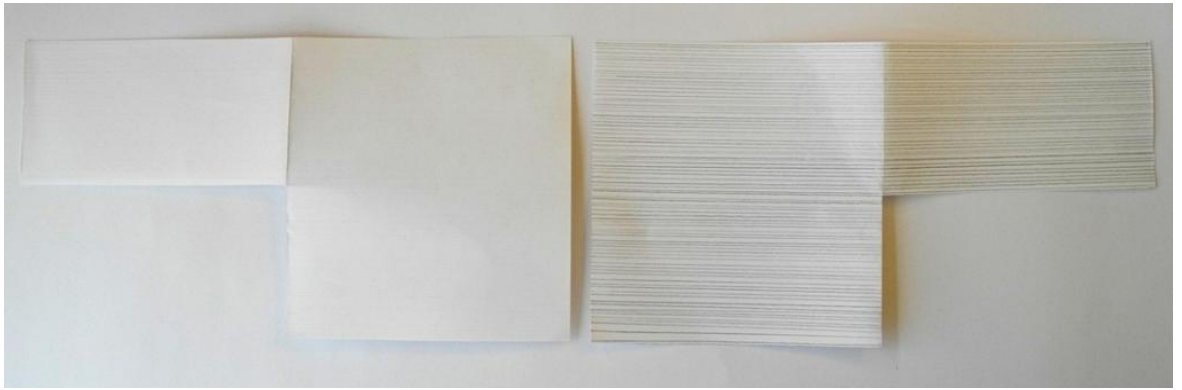
9. Sleeves: Cut a sleeve length rectangle + a handspan



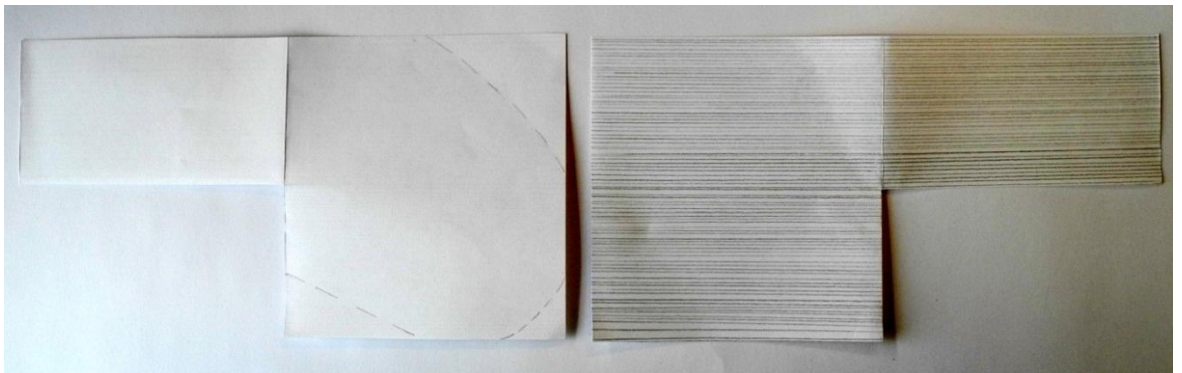
10. Horizontally fold in three equal parts. Whole length folded vertically in half. First horizontal fold is slashed from the bottom half way up. Second horizontal fold is slashed from the top half way down as shown in the image above.



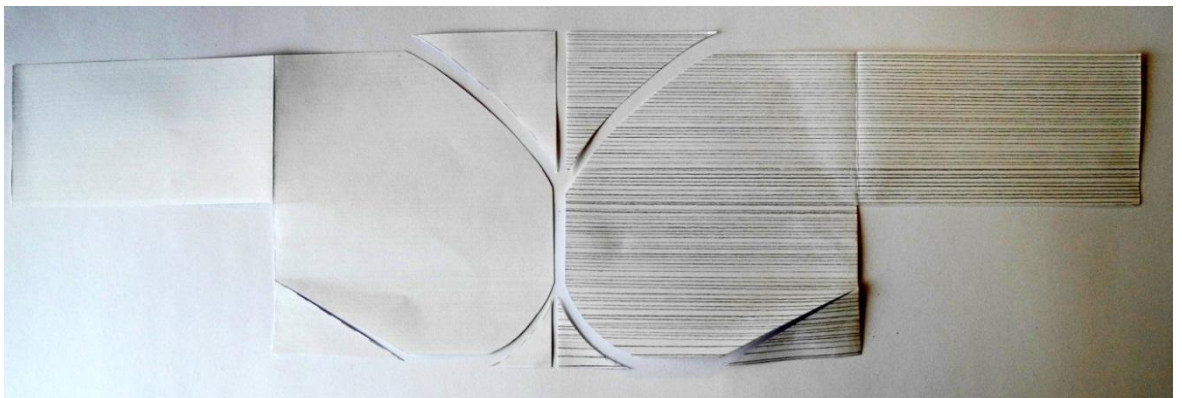
11. Connect the middle of the two previous slashes horizontally with another slash.



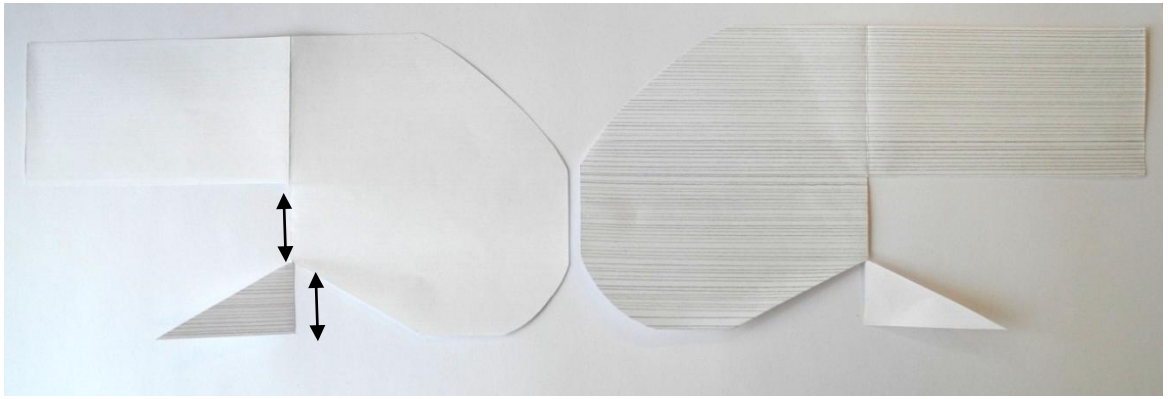
12. Place the two parts opposite each other, as shown in the image above. There are the structures of the two sleeves, later attached to the *kediyun*.



13. Mark sleeves with estimated curve as shown in the image above. Jamnaben could not explain how the estimation for the marking was taken.



14. Following the markings, cut out the two inner triangles from both the sleeves. The four central triangles are cut out. The two lower triangles (left and right) are slashed but retain a small joint at their tops.



15. Carefully turn the triangle out (as shown in the image above) and match the vertical line of the triangle to the vertical line of the inside of the sleeve structure.

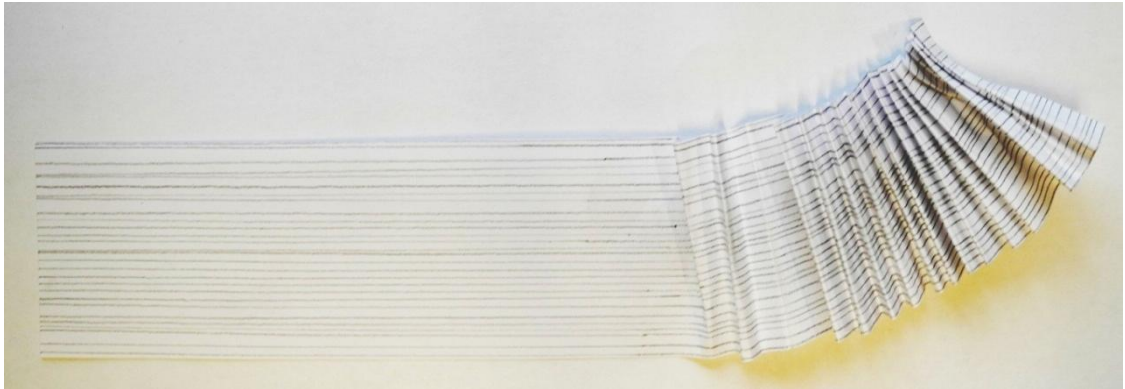


16. Fold the sleeve in the shape shown above.

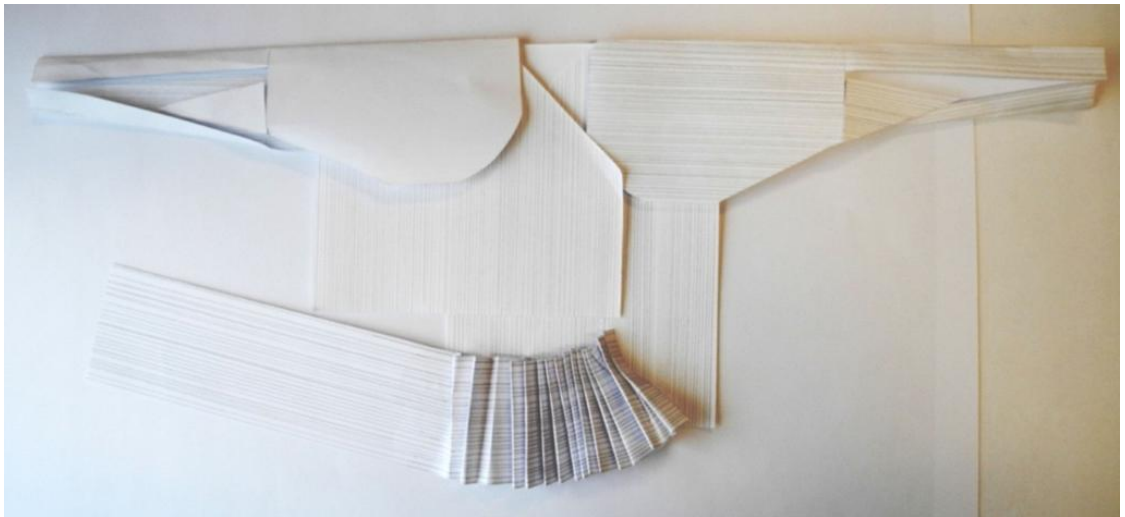


17. Attached the sleeve to the bodice achieved at step 8.

The *Chaar*:



18. Attach six widths of fabric and pleat them applying '*cheen*' stitch at one end and leave the other end of the cloth loose. As a calculation, one meter cloth will shrink in one span width.



19. Once the entire '*chaar*' is pleated, attach it to the waist starting from right front overlap to left front side seam.



20. Back of the *kediya*.

After I made the miniature pattern, it was easier to cut the fabric in its actual size. Having made the first *kediyun* it was easier to understand the second *kediyun* with Bhaddiben Rabari. However, one of the sleeves of the *kediyun* I stitched did not match; this may be accounted for by my inexperience of cutting and hand-stitching.

The method of communicating based on a paper pattern enabled Jamnaben and me to communicate better and ensured that I understood the making of the *kediyun*.

I absorbed how the 'cheen bhandna' process was practised by Jamnaben. Initially, I made a small sample and then tucked the *chaar* of the *kediyun* according to this technique. The following two pages represent the process, as understood from Jamnaben Ahir.

3.16.0 The makers of the *kediyun*

This section will give an introduction to the makers of the *kediyun*. I had known Jivaben Rabari since 2011, when she was a student at KRV. I did not know the other women before I embarked on my research.

The section is complimented with images of the makers in their domestic environment. I took these images during my apprenticeship in the homes of the makers (except Jivaben). While teaching me, the women continued doing other domestic work such as cook and cleaning. However, as the women had a good control on making the *kediyun* they knew exactly when to leave me by myself and return to check my progress.

Jamnaben Karna Hungla Ahir



Figure 3.75: Jamnaben combing her granddaughter's hair.



Figure 3.76: Stitching the *kediyun* with the author

Jamnaben (age fifty-five) was born in Vadvara village; she was the only sister of five brothers. She was married at the age of twenty-three. She has three daughters, two sons and two grandchildren. Jamnaben lives with her husband, a son and a daughter who is physically disabled. Jamnaben recalls that her mother did not know how to make the *kediyun*. At the age of fifteen, Jamnaben learnt the craft of making the *kediyun* from her aunt who was a frequent visitor to their

house. Her aunt used to make the *kediyun* for her grandfather. Now Jamnaben is the only women in the family who continues to practice the craft of *kediyun* making for the male members of her family. In recent years, she has also done so for a few men of her village who still wear the *kediyun*. Jamnaben feels happy when people wear and appreciate the *kediyun* made by her. Although Jamnaben has a sewing machine at home, she does not desire making the *kediyun* on the machine. She believes that good and authentic stitching of the Machoiya-Ahir's *kediyun* is only possible by hand. Jamnaben was proud to teach me the craft of making the *kediyun*. Jamnaben says that until her eyesight and hands cease to work, she will continue hand-stitching the *kediyun*.

Bhaddiben Soma Rabari

Bhaddiben (age sixty-five) was born in Ratnal village; she has one brother. She was married at the age of twenty-five and has two sons and one daughter. All her children are married and she lives with her eldest son, daughter-in-law and two grandchildren. Bhaddiben has a high regard for her camels and considered them as her children. She shared that she was unhappy when the family had to sell the camels. Bhaddiben has travelled as far as Nagpur, Maharashtra, migrating with the camels. In 1984 her family had migrated for the last time. She had learnt the craft of making the *kediyun* from her mother Sajjanben Rabari. Bhaddiben stopped making the *kediyun* when her husband stopped wearing them, a few years after the ban on embroidery was implemented. Her husband passed away three years ago. Most of Bhaddiben's belongings were destroyed during the earthquake of 2001. She still has a bodice of a *kediyun* she embroidered for her husband soon after his wedding. Bhaddiben recalls that before her wedding her mother had told her that if a Dhebaria Rabari bride could not stitch her own *kachli* (tentative translation: blouse) and the *kediyun* for her husband, it was an insult for the mother of the girl. However, as Bhaddiben has not stitched the *kediyun* for over thirty years now, it was hard for her to remember the making of the *kediyun*. Bhaddiben occasionally hand embroidered woollen shawls for a local weaver, in order to generate income for the family.



Figure 3.77: With an old family photo



Figure 3.78: Bhaddiben cooking.

Puriben Meghabhai Rabari

Puriben (age sixty-two) was born in Haruri, near Kukma village. She has one brother. She was married at the age of twenty-five and has three sons and one daughter. She lives with her youngest son Ganesh, daughter-in-law and a grandson. Puriben last migrated with her cattle some twenty-five years ago. Puriben learnt the making of the *kediyun* from her mother. Puriben had learnt how to use a hand-operated sewing machine. Puriben is an expert in cutting of the *kediyun*. She continues to make *kediyun* for her husband who still wears them. Her husband was paralysed a few years ago and can only move his body partly. Puriben aspires a good education for her grandson.



Figure 3.79: Puriben examining Bhaddiben's stitch Figure 3.80: Puriben stitching

Jivaben⁴⁴ Ratabhai Rabari

Jivaben (age eighty-four), was born in Dhaneti, the only sister of two brothers. Her father died when she was one and a half years old and her mother passed away when she was seven. Her father's sister brought her up. Jivaben has travelled within Gujarat, migrating with the herds and returning home in monsoon season. The family stopped migrating twenty years ago. During the earthquake of 2001, Jivaben's husband was injured and passed away a year later. Jivaben learnt the craft of making the *kediyun* by observing the makers in her village as a teenager. Jivaben says that making the *kediyun* was more complicated than learning to embroider. However, she adds that if one is motivated to learn then one demonstration is enough, for the idle however, a life time's teaching would not suffice, else even a lifetime is less.

⁴⁴ (Note some of the information about Jivaben has been taken from KRV e-portfolio
http://www.kala-raksha-vidhyalaya.org/2009/women/eportfolios_jivaben_ratabhai_rabari.php)

Jivaben has sold all her traditional embroidery after the ban on embroidery for personal use was implemented. Jivaben graduated from KRV in 2011. She continues to embroider for Kala Raksha. Jivaben struggled to make a *kediyun* as she was making one after a gap of over twenty-five years.



Figure 3.81: Jivaben milking the goat



Figure 3.82: Threading the needle.

3.17.0 Conclusion of findings

This chapter has illustrated the technical construction of the hand-stitched *kediyun* made by Bhaddiben and Puriben. The traditional system the women apply to measure the cloth and body was found to be self-sufficient, as it captured all relevant dimensions and did not require measuring equipment or additional tools. . It was identified that almost no fabric was wasted in cutting the pattern of the *kediyun* and the maker was able to adapt the cutting to different widths of fabric. It was found that the women working in their traditional style understood the relation between the cloth and body by directly measuring one against the other.

The body functioned as a creative tool, even during the stitching of the *kediyun*. Different body parts, such as the big toe, legs, thighs, palm, fingers and hands, were used to stitch the *kediyun*. It seems as if the use of the maker's body had been flexibly adapted to meet the needs of traditional methods of garment construction.

In contrast to the popular idea that categorises traditional clothing homogenously, it was found that individual variations of constructing the *kediyun* existed. One such example was found in the stitching of the *chaar*, which was practised differently by all four practitioners, resulting in individual variations of the *kediyun*.

As my apprenticeship progressed, I examined how the construction of the *kediyun* was located in and connected with the culture. The women believed that good thoughts were stitched in with the stitch, and that on certain days no hand-stitching would be practised in honour of the Goddess.

Folk songs further illuminated how the craft of making the *kediyun* and the *kediyun* itself was integral to the culture. Some songs illustrated that the craft of *kediyun* helped differentiate the women of various subgroup. The songs suggested that the *kediyun* played role of an agent that fostered relationships and emphasised the history of the subgroup.

The method of apprenticeship gave me the opportunity to immerse myself in the local culture. This enabled me to expand my understanding of the cultural importance of *kediyun* construction. In making the *kediyun* I was able to experience the material and the working environment of the women. I could form a rapport with the makers and learn from my mistakes. The satisfaction to hand-make a complete *kediyun* made me realise the value of self-sufficiency, that the makers possessed. This was a result of living in the harsh condition of the desert and their earlier migrating practices.

The section on 'making knowledge' demonstrates that the local craftswomen can adapt to new methods of teaching and working. Jamnaben, who is one of the makers who still practise the craft, took pride in teaching me the making of the *kediyun*. This made her daughter curious about the craft although she had previously shown no interest.

3.18.0 The film “Kediyun”

The film “Kediyun” explores the stitched and cultural construction of the eponymous garment by depicting the close relationship between teacher and apprentice, maker and researcher. It presents the overall environment of the field research, for example the maker’s house, songs, community life. The participants of the research, their expressions and gestures can be experienced by seeing them on the screen. The film depicts body movement during the making of the *kediyun* and while wearing it. This is hard to describe in words or through still photographs.

Out of almost hundred hours of footage that I shot, I have selected a few excerpts and put them together in a way to tell a narrative. The process has been done without any formal study of film-making. I have been supported for editing, post production and sound editing.

(The DVD of the film can be found at the back of the thesis).

4.0.0 Research Conclusion

The hand-making of the *kediyun* in Kutch, is now rare. I started this research project with the intention of keeping the maker and her process at the heart of my investigation. During my apprenticeships, I realised that the technical aspect of making the *kediyun* was an extension of the makers' culture. This research enquiry into the technical construction of the *kediyun* therefore extended to include the cultural construction of the *kediyun*.

The research situated the construction of a traditional Indian garment within the context of its makers. This approach, had, largely been sidelined in previous publications on traditional clothes, where the emphasis lay mainly on categorisation.

The method of apprenticeship allowed me to experience the traditional practice of *kediyun* construction. I learnt the method of directly measuring the cloth against the body of the wearer. The detailed method of measurement and its application in garment construction is presented as a new finding. The body was observed to be engaged as a creative tool for measuring the cloth and stitching the *kediyun*. Both these aspects highlight that traditional making is highly individual and adaptable, depending on the maker's body and stitching style.

During the apprenticeship, I learnt how hand-stitching was connected to cultural and religious beliefs, such as: good thought being stitched within the stitch and the necessity to avoid stitching on specific days in honour of the Goddess, 'Shetla mata'.

Folks songs reflected that the specific way a subgroup made the *kediyun* reflected their individual identity. At the end of my last apprenticeship, the women created a song about my journey and eagerness to learn the making of the *kediyun*. It was their way of accepting me into their cultural environment. Jamnaben particularly took pride in teaching me the traditional process of the *kediyun* construction.

The traditional method of *kediyun* construction was sustainable, as it was rooted in the nomadic lifestyle of the pastoral communities of Kutch. Needle and thread were the only and most basic tools used for the construction of the *kediyun*. Even complicated tucks were achieved by hand stitching without using sophisticated measurements or tools. Almost no cloth was wasted in cutting the pattern of the *kediyun*.

Often, traditional methods of making are understood as static, suggesting that tradition is opposed to the contemporary. With the making of the *kediyun*, it was discovered that the traditional methods evolved over time. However, with the rapidly changing lifestyle in Kutch region, it is possible that within a few decades few people will continue to wear the *kediyun*, made in the traditional method. There remains only very few traditional women makers who know or practice the

making of the *kediyun* or other garments used in the community. Instead of adapting their style of garment construction to contemporary times, the women are stopping the making of traditional garments altogether.

It is significant to explore traditional crafts as a means to open new design dimensions. As the literature review has indicated, there is scope for traditional makers of garments to participate in design education in a manner of knowledge exchange. This valuable interaction could benefit both, the design disciplines and traditional makers.

It is important to note that the *kediyun* is only one of many traditional garments, made by the women in rural India. Hence, studies of traditional garment construction, which are at the same time embedded in the culture of Kutch, need to be initiated. Given the regional changes, the timing of further research is now crucial.

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Appendix 1

The section presents an example of the diary page- Reporting from the field: 16 June 2013

Published on (anti)-thesis MIRIAD Writing Group 2013

<http://miriadwriting.wordpress.com/2013/06/29/jumo-the-real-indian-camel-cow-boy>

The road had ended miles ago. We drove on a somewhat dissolved path that the feet had created. Eventually it was not possible for the machine to venture any further. So we set off on foot. Jumo was my guide for the day, the caretaker of the flock of camels that I had been chasing for days, urging him to introduce me to the unique ship of the desert, which could even sail in the ocean. I changed from sports shoes to slippers and announced that I would take them off as and when required. 'No', I was told, barefoot it should be! I had full faith in Jumo; I did as I was told. Jumo's brother, an old man and the driver joined us as we set on the next part of the journey; while Jumo's cousin stayed back.

We followed Jumo, who by now had a parched and dense branch in his hand. The dry path merged into what felt like a soft, smooth, wet black soil. With each step our legs submerged deeper. Further we walked over a layer of corals, passed green bushes. It seemed like an endless walk, then water and suddenly I/we felt long necks behind the green, living beings!

I felt in a flash that I was in Jurassic times. My eyes encountered the majestic animal in a setting so natural that it seemed surreal. Three camels, then five, another four; the number kept increasing before my eyes, hard for my brain to keep count. They were all around us; it appeared to me as if the Jurassic time had never ended. Even the most ordinary sounds of the camels captivated, compelled my thoughts. In chorus voices the camel's flock made more than their presence felt. By now we were on an island; it was the camels, their sound, a few wet green

bushes and men around. I could not fully understand how we reached the sand, the landscape was not consistence.

Jumo started breaking the twigs of the dry branch; everything else was wet around. He held his woollen blanket with his foot and arms to shelter from the breeze to light a small bonfire. Another hand brought milk, camel's milk! The driver had a quick sip, exchanged words and departed hastily. He had earlier shared with me his fear of water (ocean) and love of milk (camel's milk). It was these conflicting thoughts that had pushed him forward and now backward.

I was offered tea of camel's milk and added information on its benefit against diabetes. Philosophically, I said that Jumo's life was so much in harmony with nature and went on... Jumo stood up in full force, as if to tell me to cut the crap. Come on quickly, he said. I was told the tide was rising; soon the island would be submerged under water seven feet high.

The camels had already stated moving ahead. My swimming skills were handy to crawl through the water that risen up to the lower waist. Faster and faster...I followed the direction I was told. I now realised why the driver ran off. My only worry was to keep my camera intact. I took some shots in a rush. Thankfully, the monsoon had not yet begun, so we were spared the sight of scorpions.

After a few steps we were out on sand again. Jumo took his white upper garment, the traditional *kediyun*. He tied it on his head, in a style of turban and jumped in the water. 'Heya, heay... hayo, hayo...', it seems like a language which bridged the animal world with man. I requested the old man to hold on to my water bottle as I jumped in the water after Jumo, who was swiftly trying to preside over the fleet of camels. In a row the camels swim again towards the new shore.

I took some more shots of Jumo's spontaneous gesture. Also, how the *kediyun* not only sat on his head as a second turban, but also his attention to the detail of keeping the matchbox within the *kediyun*: dry and safe from water.

Attempted to have a photo memory of my presence, I request Jumo to take a shot of me. Quickly, I instructed him how to use my camera, whilst in the water. Ten shots with my head cut off. Finally a good one. It was tricky to get my camera back. Jumo had developed a fancy for the object and it was hard for me to make him listen as it was for him with the camels. But we both managed at our work, just fine enough for the day.

Later I asked how many camels there were in total. One, Jumo replied. It made no sense, I asked again. It is just one camel, he explained in the native language: rest are she-camel around eighty.

We concluded the day with rice cooked in camel's milk. I asked Jumo if he liked his job (life), "what a stupid question, why else would I be here?" he replied.

I settled the payments with all involved; it had allowed me to peep into their world. Jumo teased me if I would like to be his apprentice, so he gets a handsome income from me. I teased him back, "you will have to pay me if I become your apprentice".



The author (photo shot by Jumo)



Jumo wearing the *kediyun* as his second turban

Appendix 2

The consent forms used during the field research are detailed. English followed by Gujarati:

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



Lokesh Ghai
MIRIAD
Manchester Metropolitan University
Righton Building, Cavendish Street
Manchester M15 6BG
Tel: 07778291460

You are being asked to take part in a research the purpose of which is to find information related to traditional garments and identification of *Kediyun* makers.

Your participation may involve an individual or group interview or filling of a questionnaire. The interview session may last up to an hour with breaks. It will be image/sound/ video recorded, and photographs may be taken of you or your clothing and related articles. Participating is voluntary and you may withdraw from the project at any time with no disadvantage to yourself. If there are any questions that make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to carry on or answer the questions.

The written outcome of the project will be made available in the University Library and used for MA related exhibition purpose. If consent is given, the image/sound and video recordings and photographs will be held in my personal archive and may be used for future exhibition and publication by me.

If you have any queries about the University's research or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Director of Studies:

Alison Welsh

Principal Lecturer, International Development

Chatham Building / Room 215
Manchester Metropolitan University
Cavendish Street
Manchester
M15 6BG

Telephone : 0161 247 3543
Email : a.welsh@mmu.ac.uk

Lokesh Ghai
MA Candidate
MIRIAD
Manchester Metropolitan University
Righton Building,
Cavendish Street

MANCHESTER M15 6BG
Tel: -07778291460

CONSENT FORM

Research Project:

You are invited to take part in this research project. Before you decide to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the Information Sheet carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if anything is unclear or if you want more information.

Please initial box

1. I have read and understood the information sheet and have been able to consider the information, and ask questions about my participation in the research. ☐
2. I understand that my interview will be video/ sound recorded and may be quoted/ showcased in the written outcome the MA thesis that will be made available in the University Library and used in MA related exhibition. ☐
3. I give/do not give permission for my recorded interview to use be used for future research or exhibition other than the MA Thesis and MA related exhibition. ☐
4. I wish to have my individual personal details in the interview be kept confidential, but confidentiality cannot be guaranteed for information which I might disclose in group interviews. ☐
5. My individual and personal details in the interview may be revealed in the MA thesis and MA related exhibition. ☐
6. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without having to give any reason. ☐
7. I give my consent to participate in the project which has been explained to my satisfaction. ☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Lokesh Ghai
Researcher

Date

Signature

A copy of the information sheet and the signed consent form will be given to you to keep.

સંશોધન માં ભાગ લેનાર વ્યક્તિ ના કેડીયાની જાણકારી



Lokesh Ghai
MIRIAD
Manchester Metropolitan University
Righton Building, Cavendish Street
Manchester M15 6BG
Tel: 07778291460

આ સંશોધન માં ભાગ લેવા માટે પુછતાછ કરીએ છીએ, આ સંશોધન કેડીયાના વિષય ઉપર છે, તમારા ભાગ લેવા માટે ની સમજણ જણાવીએ.

તમારા ભાગ લેવાનો મતલબ તમારી સહમતી થી મને પ્રશ્નો ના જવાબ આપવા જે લગભગ એકાદ કલાક જેટલો સમય લાગે જેમાં

હુ તમારો ફોટો તમારી વસ્તુનો ફોટોગ્રાફી અને વિડીયો શૂટિંગ કરવામા આવશે. જો તમારી ઈચ્છા નહોતી તો વચ્ચેથી છુટા થઈ શકે છે

કોઈ બાધા રૂપ નથી. જો કોઈ એવો પ્રશ્ન હોય જેનો જવાબ આપવા લાયક ન લાગે તો તે જવાબ ન પણ આપી શકે.

આ સંશોધન માટે નુ લખાણ અમારી કોલેજ ની લાયબ્રેરી માં ઉપલબ્ધ હશે અને જો તમારી પરવાનગી હોય તો ભવિષ્ય માં એકિઝબીશન મા વપરાશ કરી શકાય

જો તમને કોઈ પણ પ્રશ્ન હોય તો તમે નીચે આપેલ નામ સરનામા ઉપર અમારા સંશોધનના વડા ને પુછતાછ કરી શકો છો:

Alison Welsh

Principal Lecturer, International Development

Chatham Building / Room 215
Manchester Metropolitan University
Cavendish Street
Manchester
M15 6BG

Telephone : 0161 247 3543
Email : a.welsh@mmu.ac.uk

Lokesh Ghai
MA Candidate
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Manchester Metropolitan University
Righton Building,
Cavendish Street
MANCHESTER M15 6BG
Tel: -07778291460

સહમતી પત્રક

સંશોધન કાર્ય:

અમે તમને આ સંશોધન માં ભાગ લેવા માટે આમંત્રણ આપીએ છીએ.

ભાગ લેવા માટે ની સંશોધન ની ભાગીદારી ની સમજણ નીચે મુજબ આપેલ છે.

નીચે આપેલ બોક્ષ માં

1. મે તમે આપેલ માહિતી વાંચી અને સમજી છે.

☐

2. હું જાણુ છું કે મારો ઇન્ટરવ્યુ, વીદીયો, ફોટો, રેકોર્ડિંગ અને લેખિત નું સંશોધન નું લખાણ કોલેજની લાયબ્રેરી મા રાખવામા આવશે.

☐

3. મે આપેલ માહિતી, રકોર્ડિંગ અને ઇન્ટરવ્યુ ને આગળ ના સહશોધન માટે વાપરવાની સહમતી આપુ છું./સહમતી આપતા નથી

4. મારી પોતાની પર્સનલ માહિતી સંશોધન ના લખાણમાં વાપરવામાં વાધો છે / વાધો નથી.

☐

5. તમારા સંશોધન અને એકિઝબીશન માં અમારી માહિતી રાખી શકો છો .

☐

6. હું મારી ઈચ્છા થી સંશોધન મા ભાગ લઉં છું અને મને વચ્ચે નફાને તો કયારેય પણ ઘુટા થઈ શકુ છું .

☐

7. હું મારી ઈચ્છા થી સંશોધન મા ભાગ લઉં છું અને દરેક પોઈન્ટ થી પરીચિત છું.

☐

ભાગ લેનાર નું નામ

તારીખ

સહી

લોકેશ ઘાઈ

સંશોધન કરનાર નું નામ

તારીખ

સહી

આ લખાણ ની એક નકલ ભાગ લેનાર પાસે અને એક નકલ સંશોધન કરનાર પાસે રહેશે.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (For the maker of the *kediyun*)

Lokesh Ghai
 MIRIAD
 Manchester Metropolitan University
 Righton Building, Cavendish Street
 Manchester M15 6BG
 Tel: 07778291460

You are being asked to take part in a research the purpose of which is to understand the traditional making process of *Kediyun*. Your participation involves :

- a. Accepting me as an apprentice, thorough a mutually worked out agreement on a day to day honorarium that I would pay for your time and knowledge of teaching me how to make *Kediyun*.
- b. Giving me consent to record the making process and related activities through photography, diagrams, patterns, sound and video recording.
- c. Giving me consent of complete ownership of the *Kediyun*/ technique swatches/ patterns and sketches that are made by you for teaching me. I would be use these as a reference for my thesis and showcase these in exhibition and possibly sell these.
- d. Your participation may involve an individual or group interview or filling of a questionnaire. The interviews may be formal or informal in nature during the period of the apprenticeship. It will be image/sound/ video recorded.

Participating may withdraw from the project at any time with no disadvantage to you. If there are any questions that make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to carry on or answer the questions.

The written outcome of the project will be made available in the University Library and used for MA related. If consent is given, the image/sound recordings and photographs will be held in my personal archive for future exhibition and publication by me in Future.

If you have any queries about the University's research or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Director of Studies:

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CONSENT FORM

Research Project:

You are invited to take part in this research project. Before you decide to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the Information Sheet carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if anything is unclear or if you want more information.

Please initial box

1. I have read and understood the information sheet and have been able to consider the information, and ask questions about my participation in the research. ☐
2. I understand that my interview will be video/ sound recorded and may be quoted/ showcased in the written outcome the MA thesis that will be made available in the University Library and used in MA related exhibition. ☐
3. I give/do not give permission for my recorded interview to use for future research or exhibition other than the MA Thesis and MA related exhibition. ☐
4. I wish to have my individual personal details be kept confidential, but confidentiality cannot be guaranteed for information which I might disclose in group interviews. ☐
5. My individual and personal details may be revealed in the MA thesis and MA related exhibition. ☐
6. I give full ownership right to the researcher of articles such as *Kediyun*, patterns, diagrams or any related teaching tool developed for teaching during the apprenticeship. ☐
7. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without having to give any reason. ☐
8. I give my consent to participate in the project which has been explained to my satisfaction. ☐

Name of Participant_____
Date_____
SignatureLokesh Ghai
Researcher_____
Date_____
Signature

A copy of the information sheet and the signed consent form will be given to you to keep.

સંશોધન માં ભાગ લેનાર વ્યક્તિ ની જાણકારી



Lokesh Ghai
MIRIAD
Manchester Metropolitan University
Righton Building, Cavendish Street
Manchester M15 6BG
Tel: 07778291460

આ સંશોધન માં ભાગ લેવા માટે પુછતાછ કરીએ છીએ, આ સંશોધન કેડીયાના વિષય ઉપર છે, તમારા ભાગ લેવા માટે ની સમજણ જણાવીએ છીએ.

- તમારી સહમતી થી હુ તમારી સાથે કેડીયુ બનાવતા શિખીશ અને તમને તમારા મહેનતાણા રૂપે રોજ નુ મહેનતાણુ આપીશ.
- તમારી પરવાનગી થી હુ કેડીયુ ની પેટન, વિડિયો, ફોટો અને રેકોર્ડિંગ થી શિખી ને બનાવીશ.
- આ સંશોધન માં જે કેડીયુ અને એ માંથી જે વસ્તુ બનશે જે સંશોધન માં અને એક્ઝિબીશન માં અને મારી પાસે રહેશે અને મારી માલીકીનુ રહેશે.
- તમારા ભાગ લેવાનો મતલબ તમારી સહમતી થી મને જાણકારી આપો છો જેથી હુ ફોટોગ્રાફી અને વિડીયો શુટિંગ લઈ શકુ.

ભાગ લેનારને જો ભાગ લેવાની ઈચ્છા નહોય તો વચ્ચેથી છુટા થઈ શકે છે કોઈ બાધા રૂપ નથી. જો કોઈ એવો પ્રશ્ન હોય જેનો જવાબ આપવા લાયક ન લાગે તો તે જવાબ ન પાણ આપી શકે.

આ સંશોધન નુ લખાણ અમારી કોલેજ ની લાયબ્રેરી માં રાખવામાં આવશે અને જો તમારી સહમતી હોય તો રેકોર્ડિંગ અને ફોટા આગળ ના એક્ઝિબીશન મા વાપરી શકુ.

જો તમને કોઈ પણ પ્રશ્ન હોય તો તમે અમારા સંશોધનના વડા ને પુછતાછ કરી શકો છો:

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સહમતી પત્રક

સંશોધન કાર્ય:

અમે તમને આ સંશોધન માં ભાગ લેવા માટે આમંત્રણ આપીએ છીએ.

ભાગ લેવા માટે ની સંશોધન ની ભાગીદારી ની સમજણ નીચે મુજબ આપેલ છે.

નીચે આપેલ બોક્ષ માં

1. મે તમે આપેલ માહિતી વાંચી અને સમજી છે. ☐
2. હું જાણુ છું કે મારો ઇન્ટરવ્યુ, વીદીયો, ફોટો, રેકોર્ડિંગ અને લેખિત નું સંશોધન નું લખાણ કોલેજની લાયબ્રેરી મા રાખવામા આવશે. ☐
3. મે આપેલ માહિતી, રેકોર્ડિંગ અને ઇન્ટરવ્યુ ને આગળ ના સહશોધન માટે વાપરવાની સહમતી આપુ છું./સહમતી આપતા નથી ☐
4. મારી પોતાની પર્સનલ માહિતી સંશોધન ના લખાણમાં વાપરવામાં વાધો છે / વાધો નથી. ☐
5. તમારા સંશોધન અને ઐકિઝબીશન માં અમારી માહિતી રાખી શકો છો . ☐
6. મારા તરફથી કુલ સહમતી થી કેડીયું, તેની પેટન અને ભણાવવાની રીત તમારી માલીકી ની એટલેકે લોકેશ ઘાઈ ની રહેશે. ☐
7. હું મારી ઈચ્છા થી સંશોધન મા ભાગ લઉં છું અને મને વચ્ચે નક્કાવે તો કચારેય પણ ઘુટા થઈ શકુ છું . ☐
8. હું મારી ઈચ્છા થી સંશોધન મા ભાગ લઉં છું અને દરેક પોઈન્ટ થી પરીચિત છું.

ભાગ લેનાર નું નામ

તારીખ

સહી

લોકેશ ઘાઈ

સંશોધન કરનાર નું નામ

તારીખ

સહી

આ લખાણ ની એક નકલ ભાગ લેનાર પાસે અને એક નકલ સંશોધન કરનાર પાસે રહેશે.

Appendix 3

Examples, of pages from the artist book I made to analyse the data.

(Appendix 3.1 Map of apprenticeship space at Bhaddiben's house)



(Appendix 3.2 Pages on cloth used for making the *kediyun*)

PLAIN WEAVE, HANDLOOM FABRIC, 23"

THE CLOTH

RAW MATERIAL: THE CLOTH

CLOTH'S THICKNESS AND WEAVE

BHADIBEN AND PURIBEN WERE UNHAPPY WITH THE CLOTH. I HAD SPECIALLY COMMISSIONED (HAND-WEVEN AS PER TRADITIONAL WIDTH AND WEIGHT) FOR THE APPRENTICESHIP. ALTHOUGH THE WEIGHT AND THE WIDTH WERE AS PER THE SPECIFICATION OF THE RABARI WOMEN, THE CLOTH WAS HARD FOR THE NEEDLE TO PASS THROUGH. AN ASPECT NOT ACCOUNTED AT TIME OF COMMISSIONING THE CLOTH.

TWILL WEAVE, HAND MILL MADE COTTON FABRIC

CLOTH'S WEIGHT

JIVABEN WAS NOT SATISFIED WITH THE WEIGHT OF THE FABRIC; ACCORDING TO HER THE CLOTH WAS TOO LIGHT (FLIMSY).

CLOTH'S WIDTH

TRADITIONALLY THE WIDTH OF THE CLOTH TO CUT KEDIYUN'S PATTERN WAS NARROW. HOWEVER, AFTER PONDERING JAWANA-BEN WAS ABLE TO ADOPT CUTTING ON WIDER WIDTH.

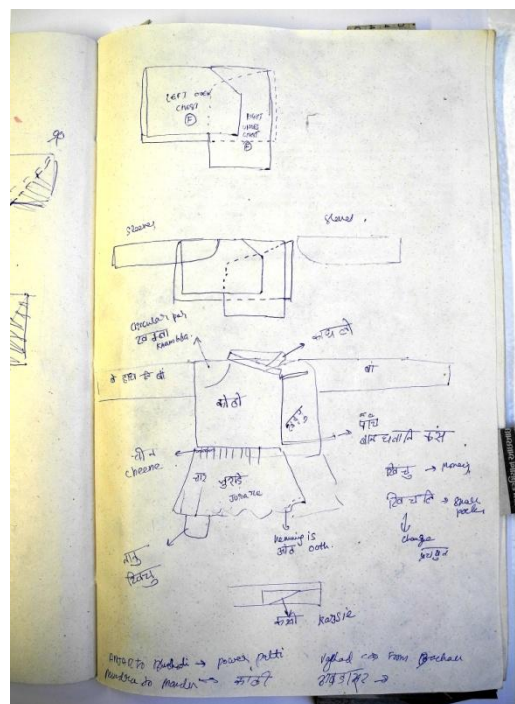
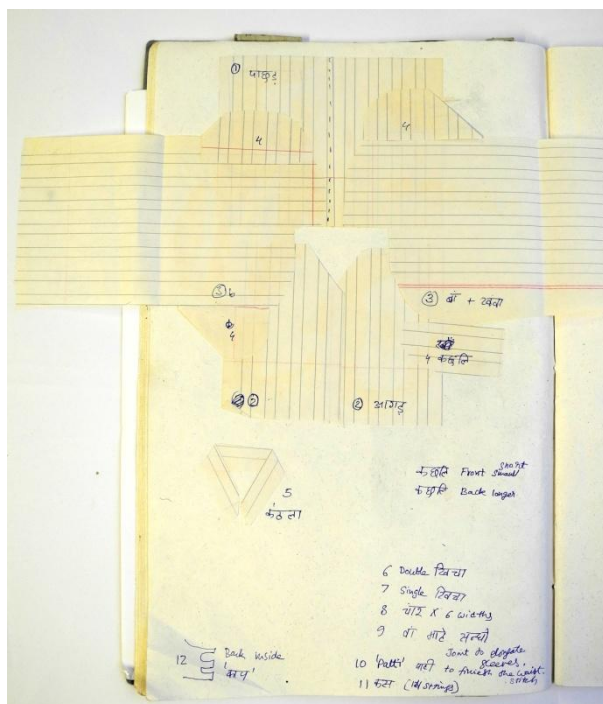
CLOTH'S COLOUR

TRADITIONALLY OFF WHITE (NATURAL COTTON) COLOUR. SEMI BLEACHED MILL CLOTH LATER INCLUDED.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE IS A TENTATIVE INDICATION OF FABRIC USED FOR MAKING KEDIYUN. THE TABLE IS BASED ON DATA COLLECTED THROUGH INTERVIEWS WITH THE KEDIYUN MAKERS AND OBSERVATIONS OF OLD KEDIYUNS DISCOVERED IN FIELD RESEARCH.

TIME LINE	KEDIYUN FABRIC	WIDTH
2013	POLYESTER - COTTON BLENDS	NARROW + WIDE
1990s	POLYESTER - COTTON BLENDS	NARROW + WIDE
MID 1980s	POLYESTER INTRODUCED	NARROW + WIDE
1980s	TWILL-WEAVE - MILLMADE COTTON FABRIC, LOCALLY KNOWN AS 'JEAN'	WIDE
MID 1970s	HANDWOVEN PLAIN WEAVE, LOCALLY KNOWN AS 'DOUBLING'	NARROW + WIDE
1970s	LATER IMITATED BY MILL.	
AND BEFORE	HAND WOVEN (AND SPUN) KHADI	NARROW WIDTH

(Appendix 3.2 Pages field notebook)

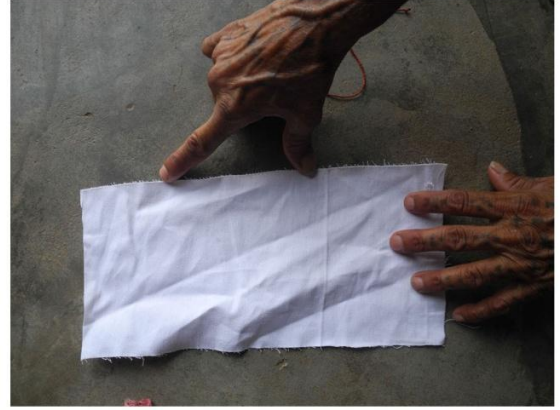


Appendix 4:

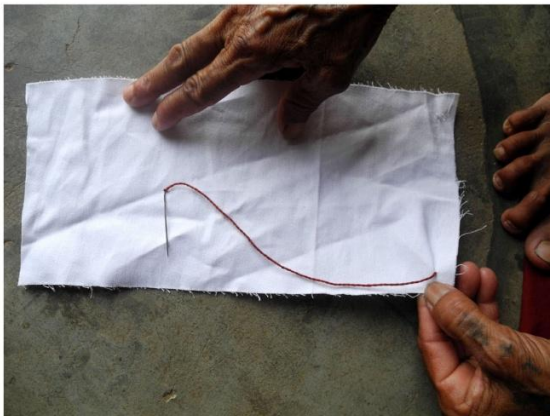
The following two pages depict the process of *cheen-bhadhana*. Note the process is not simply the technique of stitching, but also the belief that the maker must complete this process before sunset. Therefore, the maker would not commence stitching the *chaar* if it was nearing sunset, leaving it for the next day.



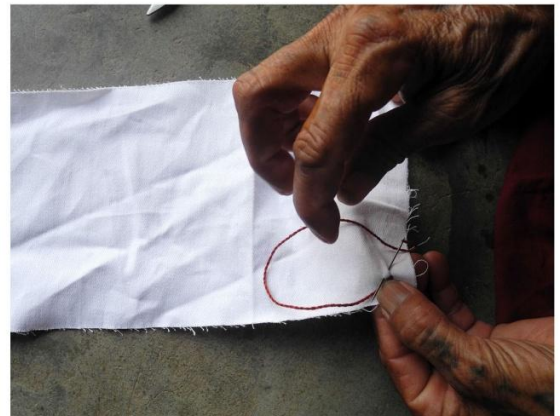
1. The needle is threaded with a double ply thread. The thread is made by twisting two threads together, rubbing them repeatedly with the palms of the hands, while the thread is looped through the big toe



2. The fabric is folded and then pressed down using a finger-nail.



3. The fabric is pinched to form a tuck, the needle and thread pulled through the inside of the tuck.



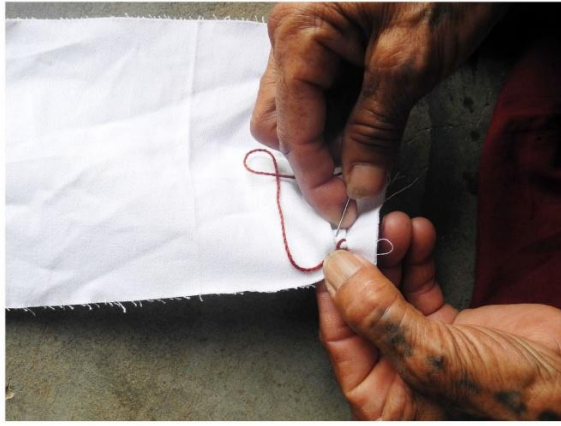
4. The tucks made are held in place with the thread. The needle is passed vertically through the cloth.



5. The needle is then brought back to the surface so that the thread loops around the needle.



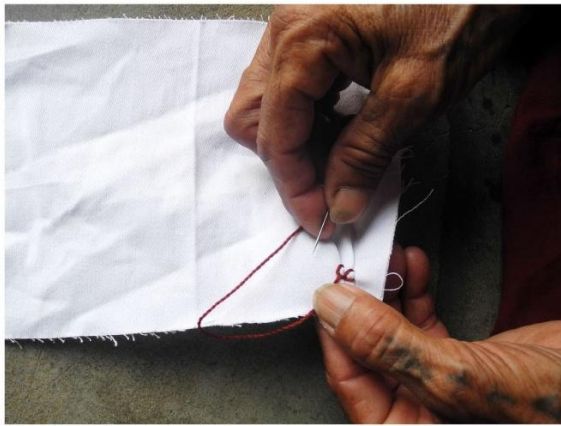
6. The needle and thread are pulled out, to form a single feather stitch (*cheen*).



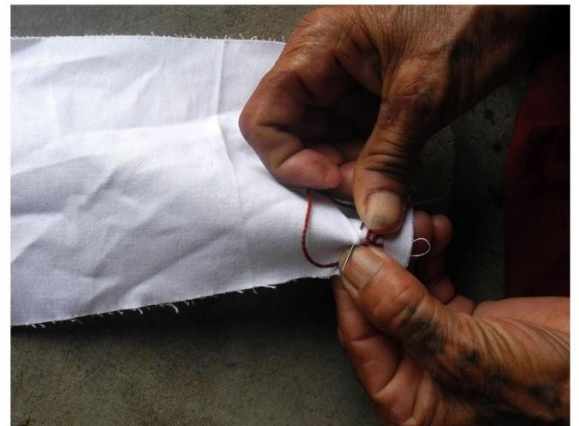
7. Another tuck is made and the stages (3 to 6) are repeated.



8. An even tension is required when forming the stitch.



9. The stitches are formed working away from the body.



10. Here the needle is shown in a diagonal position, the thumb of left hand holds the tuck in place.



11. The index finger of the left hand is used to form the tuck.



12. 'One meter of cloth becomes one handspan when stitched in this way'.
(Jamnaben Ahir, in Ghai, 2013)

Appendix 5:

The section presents songs related to the *kediyun* in Gujarati with a tentative translation.

Appendix 5.1

Let go of the chaar of my kediyn, else the kediyn would tear apart, the tie-up would break. One by one with the needle I stitched the mirror on the kediyn; in the mirror I saw the reflection of Lord Krishna's face. I hemmed the chaar of the kediyn, stitched the shoulder, and attached the tie-ups. For the 'cheen' I used red and yellow colour thread. With a diagonal movement of needle I stitched the kediyn.

જાદવ કુળ ના કૃષ્ણ ભગવાન મારા કડીયા ની ચાર છોડો
કડીયુ મારૂં ટુટી જાશે કશ મારી છુટી જાશે
ભરવાડ ના ભાણેજ જાદવ ના જાયા આવ્યા
કૃષ્ણ ભગવાને પકડી મારા કડીયા ની ચાર
છોડો મારા કડીયા ની ચાર ને ઝુલડી તમારી રહી જાશેને
કડીયુ મારૂં ટુટી જાશે લાલ પીળા દોરા થી મે કડીયુ બનાવ્યું
સોઈ થી એક એક ટાંકા થી આભલા ટાંક્યા અને આભલા મા
દેખાણા કૃષ્ણ ભગવાન ચાર કડીયા ની ઓટી
માય ટાંકયો કંશ ખંભા થાખ્યા લાલ પીળા દોરા થી ચીણ બનાવી
આડી સોઈયે કડીયુ સીવ્યું જાદવ કયાં ચાલ્યા તમે
યદવરા કયાં જાશું તે ખબર નથી મને પણ કડીયાની યાદ લેતા જાશું

Appendix 5.2

O Ram let me worship you... Let me wear the kediyn with backstitch.
The song lists emotions and desire that a disciple wishes to do as part of dedicating to God. Wearing of *kediyun* is one of these. O Ram let me worship you....

રામ મને થોડી થોડી ભક્તિ કરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
મને વિશાળ દોલીયા ગમતા નથી મને ઉતારા ઓરડા ગમતા નથી
મને કડીયો પહેરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
મને ટુટેલ ખાટલે બેસવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો

મને નાવણ નીરલા ગમતા નથી મને બંડી બાંડીયો પહેરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 ભોજન લાડવા ગમતા નથી કેવડીયો કંસાર જમવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 દાતાણ દાડમી ગમતા નથી મને જેવો તેવો કડીયો પહેરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 મને મુખવાસ એલચી ગમતા નથી મને જેવો તેવો કડીયો પહેરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 મને અંજાર નો કડીયો પહેરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 મને આડોળી પાઘડી બાંધવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 મોડ કાઢેલ પાઘડી બાંધવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 મને પાટલુન ટી શર્ટ ગમતા નથી મને રબારી ઓ નો પહેરવેશ પહેરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 મને ફેશન બેશન ગમતા નથી મને ડોશલા નો પહેરવેશ પહેરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 મને ચાર જોડી કડીયા પહેરવા દયો રામ તમારે પગથીયે ચડવા દયો
 રામ મને બાંડીયા પહેરવા છે રામ મને ઝુલડી પહેરવી છે રામ મને લાસ્સી ઝુલડી પહેરવી છે

Appendix 5.3

*The groom's father doesn't know how to wear the kediyaun
 Bring the groom's grandfather's brother, he can teach him to wear it.*

*The groom's father doesn't know how to wear the kediyaun
 Bring the groom's grandmother's brother, he can teach him to wear it.*

*The groom's father doesn't know how to wear the kediyaun
 Bring the groom's grandfathers's father, he can teach him to wear it.*

*The groom's father doesn't know how to wash the kediyaun
 Bring the groom's father's mother, she can teach him to wash it.*

વેવાઈ કડીયુ પહેરી નજાણે એના કાકા ને તેડાવો કાકો કડીયુ પહેરી બતાવે

વેવાઈ કડીયુ પહેરી નજાણે એના મામા ને તેડાવો મામો કડીયુ પહેરી બતાવે

વેવાઈ કડીયુ પહેરી નજાણે એના દાદા ને તેડાવો દાદો કડીયુ પહેરી બતાવે

વેવાઈ કડીયુ ધોતા નજાણે એની આઈ ને તેડાવો આઈ કડીયુ ધોઈ બતાવે

Appendix 5.4

*(Lokeshbhai) While coming he got lost,
 While coming he forgot the way,*

*While coming he reached the Rabari house,
While coming (again) he learnt how to stitch the kediyaun,
While re-coming he learnt to wear of the kediyaun,
While coming he went to the wrong address,
While coming he got lost.....*

*Wearing the kediyaun Lokeshbhai went to Ahmedabad.
He went to Ahmedabad,
He received appreciation from his supervisors for making the kediyaun.*

He showed it to his mother. While coming he lost his way, while coming....

લોકેશભાઈ આવે છે આવતા આવતા ભુલી ગયા કડીયા બનાવતા શીખી ગયા

રબારીઆના ઘર મા ઘુસી ગયા આવતા આવતા ભુલી ગયા કડીયા પહેરતા શીખી ગયા

આવતા આવતા ભુલી ગયા જશોદાના ઘર મા ઘુસી ગયા

લોકેશભાઈ આવે છે તકડ તુમડી વાગે છે લોકેશભાઈ આવે છે

કેડીયા નો ઘા કીધો દુધ ની ધાર વછુટીયું સેવા કરે અજુન સેવા કરે

લોકેશભાઈ અમદાવાદ ચાલ્યા કડીયો પહેરીને લોકેશભાઈ અમદાવાદ ચાલ્યા

અમદાવાદ ચાલ્યા ને એમને સાહેબે વખાણ્યા લોકેશભાઈ અમદાવાદ ચાલ્યા

અમદાવાદ ચાલ્યા ને એમની મમ્મી એ વખાણ્યા લોકેશભાઈ અમદાવાદ ચાલ્યા

અમદાવાદ ચાલ્યા ને એમને કોલેજે વખાણ્યા લોકેશભાઈ અમદાવાદ ચાલ્યા

ઉડે ધોરમા ની છોર ધોડે ધુસે રે ભોડે છત્રી લીધી હાથમા

સાવ સોનાની ચાકડી એતો ગંગાજીમા ન્હાય

નાઈ ધોઈ ને પાવન થાય એતો કેલાશે જાય

Appendix 6

See: DVD accompanying – Folder: STITCHING THE CHAAR
Files:

5. Jamnaben Ahir
6. Bhaddiben Rabari
7. Jivaben Rabari
8. Deviben Rabari

Film DVD